







ENGLAND:

SINCE

THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

BEING

AN HISTORICAL *RESUMÉ* OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS AND THE
SUCCESSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESOURCES AND SOCIAL
CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

FOLLOWED BY

VARIOUS STATISTICAL TABLES

FROM OFFICIAL RECORDS;

AND

An Historical Survey

OF THE

PRINCIPLES OF PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE AS PROPOUNDED
BY THE VARIOUS SCHOOLS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY

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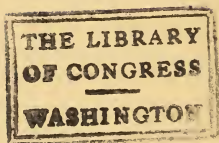
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PREFACE.

THE History of England since the Accession of Victoria is particularly distinguished by an uninterrupted series of reforms which have been brought about in the social and commercial relations of the country. From the repeal of the Corn Laws to the reduction of the duties on tea, raisins, and other articles of minor import, the prevailing spirit of the age manifested itself in a variety of unmistakeable phases. It was against that spirit that the late Sir Robert Peel had, some twenty years ago, created a strong and compact party in and out of Parliament, by whose aid he attained a power and popularity seldom, if ever, before enjoyed by any Tory Minister in this country; and although he might have kept the field much longer, he had foresight and honesty enough to perceive the in-

justice and untenableness of his position, and with one sharp blow he crushed party, principle, theory, and prejudice, in acknowledgment of the power of that spirit which advocated the cause of the poor against the rich, of free competition against monopoly, of labour against capital, and of commercial against landed interests. Lord Derby and his Ministers, it is true, also at last submitted to that spirit, avowing in Parliament that Free Trade had increased national prosperity, and procured employment and cheap food to the labouring classes. But the avowal was made as a means of retaining office under its auspices, seeing that the spirit had fled from *Protection*, and that the fighting for a dead body was as unprofitable as it was useless.

Be this, however, as it may, the path to future reform is now cleared of all obstacles, save the will of Ministers, who may carry any measures tending to enlarge the moral and physical welfare of the people, provided they propose them in right good earnest.

The author has thought proper to append to the volume an historical sketch of the principles and theories propounded by the various schools of Poli-

tical Economy, simply because the champions in the vast struggle between Free Trade and Protection had rested their arguments mainly on the practical application of those respective theories, which will be found fully analysed in the section specially devoted to that part of the question.

LONDON,

1st October, 1854.

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ENGLAND

UNDER THE PRESENT REIGN.

CHAP. I.

NEW EPOCH.—DEVELOPMENT OF NEW PRINCIPLES.

THE turning point in the internal history of England must be sought in the Catholic Emancipation and Reform Bills, two measures which stand historically and practically in close connection with each other. The old English notions, systems, and institutions rested upon the advantages of rank, race, and religion; but no sooner were they successfully attacked, than further changes seemed unavoidable. The Catholic Emancipation, however, made deeper inroads in the structure of the old state edifice than even the Reform Bill with all its popularity and apparent advantages. Old England was so thoroughly

Protestant in throne, parliament, and legislation, that many of the anomalies arising from the former bill have not to this day been reconciled. The Reform Bill, on the other hand, assailed the old institutions more by its principle than by its application; it showed, it is true, that the composition of Parliament ought to rest on a broader basis of national representation; but it did not define the precise character of the improvement in a practical point of view. The immediate result of that first step was the enactment of the new Poor Laws in 1834, by which the influence of the landowners in the rural districts was supplanted by that of the State; and the aristocratic writers, with D'Israeli at their head, justly blamed the Tories for having supported a measure which tended to diminish their influence among the agricultural population, and thereby facilitate, moreover, the introduction of the subsequent great measures by which a new epoch was created for England, and increased power given to the town population of the country.

At the accession of Queen Victoria, June 20, 1837, the two great parties in Parliament had already exchanged their *noms de guerre* of Whigs and Tories

for Reformers and Conservatives. This transformation may be explained from the course of events since the introduction of the Reform Bill. The name *Reformer* had become a title of honour to those who had advocated that great popular measure, whilst the Tories, having been compelled to yield to public opinion and assent to the bill as a *fait accompli*, now took their stand upon Conservative ground to protect state and church against further innovations or encroachments.

The Reformers, as is always the case with parties, were composed of various heterogeneous parts. At their head stood the old Whigs with their aristocratic notions and family traditions. Many among them had promoted reform in Parliament from a pure sense of justice, others from mere party spirit, while some looked at the measure as a stepping stone to farther reforms, by which the power of the Tories was to be gradually destroyed. But it was the middle classes in particular who had supported the Whigs in their parliamentary position, and who now loudly claimed for their principal reward, the establishment of an *economical administration*. The large towns had become conscious of their own power, and insisted upon

its acknowledgment. They showed impatience with the dilatory proceedings of the Whig Cabinet in regard to further reforms, and having sent a considerable number of members to the House since the passing of the Reform Bill, their influence in Parliament was not unimportant. At a later period, they formed the *élite* of the commercial agitators. Again, the Radicals, though small in number, were indefatigable in their zeal and efforts; speculating upon the favour of the masses, they demanded extension of elective rights in opposition to the influence of birth and money aristocracy. It had become customary with them to make annually a motion for election by ballot, which was in return as regularly negatived. They then made common cause with the Chartists, and no wonder they proved a stumbling block to a Government that declared itself against them in every question that involved a principle.

A very useful but at the same time very questionable ally of the Whigs was the Irish party with Daniel O'Connell at their head. This extraordinary man had, by his influence, managed the return of most of the Irish members from the phalanx of Repealers, although this his tail, as his party was called, was

famous for blind devotion rather than cleverness or ability. Indeed, throughout his whole parliamentary career, O'Connell showed great jealousy in that respect; he could not endure rivalry in debates, neither was it ever ascertained whether he advocated the repeal for its own sake, or as a mere means to enforce concessions for Ireland. In the Conservatives he saw the sworn foes of Ireland's liberty, and not without reason, though it was a Tory Cabinet that passed the Catholic Bill. He hailed that measure as the first move towards further reform in favour of his own country, while the Conservatives looked at it as a necessary evil, called forth by the emergency of circumstances, but which ought not to be allowed to spread and take root.

The compact and well-organised Tory party now opened the campaign against opponents composed of Whigs, Reformers, Radicals, and Repealers. Foremost stood the men of the old school, who cheered with animation the call of "Church and state," and frequently joined in the cry "No popery." To them belonged the land and all rural wealth, and they found devoted allies in the Protestant population of North Ireland, and more especially in the influential clergy

of the established church. This nucleus of the Tory camp was gradually joined by all those who thought Ministers too slow and cautious, or, *vice versâ*, too rapid and reckless in their movements, while Sir Robert Peel, with infinite art and tact, knew how to raise that party within and without the walls of the House by skilful management of the elective laws, as well as by gaining advantage from the blunders of his opponents.

In 1833 the over-zeal of his party forced him to form a Cabinet, and undertake the administration of the country, but he was soon compelled to relinquish the reins into the hands of the Opposition. Since that failure he laboured indefatigably in the construction of his party. His zealous supporter in the upper House was the late Duke of Wellington, in whom the Tories generally found a great advocate of their principles.

The Queen had, by a recent law, just been declared of age, and competent to govern the country in person. Her father, the late Duke of Kent, had belonged to the Whigs, and it was rumoured that she had been brought up in the principles of that school. The Whig Ministry had found but little support at the

court of her uncle, the late King William IV., owing to the Tory principles of the late Queen Adelaide, but the present change of the throne had opened to the Ministers a more extended sphere of operation. Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, though not without abilities, was at that time somewhat advanced in years, and was, moreover, naturally inclined to indolent habits. His social talents, however, having made him a favourite and constant visitor at court, he no doubt exercised some influence on the liberal views of the Queen. Lord Palmerston, Foreign Minister, had previously served among the Tories in Canning's Cabinet, but being now a member of the Whig Ministry, he employed his eminent talents and activity with equal zeal for the furtherance of liberal principles, which, in addition to the share he notoriously took in the publication of the "*Portfolio*," had rendered him odious in the eyes of the absolute Cabinets on the continent. Lord John Russell, Home Secretary, had always shown himself a thorough Whig in his writings, as well as in his public career. He has capacity and goodwill, but lacks that energy and firmness of purpose which are so requisite in public life. It was he who in the Grey Cabinet carried

the Reform Bill through the lower House. The views of Lord Howick (now Earl Grey) were somewhat tinted with Radicalism, whilst his manners were rather repulsive. Labouchère and Parnell, both of moderate abilities, were intrusted with the finance department. Lord Mulgrave was Lord Lieutenant, and Lord Morpeth Secretary of State for Ireland. Both noblemen, and more especially the latter, were of decided liberal views, and friends of O'Connell. Thus the Cabinet, though strongly cast, lacked nevertheless pre-eminent talent and active energy to carry out liberal measures in a House where the Opposition was arrayed in a compact body, and devoted heart and soul to the cause of Conservatism.

We have already indicated the difficult position of Ministers opposite the country and their own party, and it will soon be seen the manner in which they gradually lost ground in public opinion. The change of the throne carried with it a dissolution of the old, and the convocation of a new Parliament. Both parties armed themselves with extraordinary zeal for the contest. The Whigs, at the hustings, pointed to their services through the Reform Bill, and even to the

liberal views of the young Queen, whom they said the country ought not to deliver up to the tyrannical counsel of the Tories. This proceeding was not altogether constitutional, but it was well calculated to win hearts for the cause. The sex and youth of the new Sovereign inspired the people with a sense of loyalty little short of chivalrous devotion and patriotism. Neither was O'Connell behind in these enthusiastic demonstrations; his heart overflowed with devotion to the Monarch, and he animated his countrymen with the same feeling at the monster meetings in Ireland. His influence at the Irish elections procured for Ministers a number of new adherents. Family connections also acquired for the Ministers an additional force of Liberal votes in Scotland. It was different, however, in England and Wales. In the larger industrial towns, it is true, the elections fell upon the Liberal candidates, but in the counties and agricultural boroughs the Conservatives had a decided majority. Their watch-word was, "*The odious new Poor Laws*," though the leaders of the party in both Houses had supported Ministers in the carrying of the measure. The final result of the elections was a slight majority for the Tory party.

CHAP. II.

THE IRISH AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS IN 1837.



THE new Parliament was opened by the young Queen in person on the 20th November, 1837, in the presence of an immense concourse of people. The split in the camp of the Liberal party became already manifest at the answer to the Address. Wakley, of the Radical party, moved for a paragraph in favour of extension of suffrage, to which Lord John Russell strongly objected, to the great annoyance of that section in the House; and the motion was of course negatived by a large majority. Two questions, *Canada* and *Ireland*, engrossed the public mind during this session, and involved Ministers in numerous difficulties. A few years previously, a breach had taken place between the British Government and the provincial Parliament in Lower

Canada. Religious antipathies, national hatred between the French and the English population, and, above all, the proximity of the United States, inspired the Canadians with a wish for political independence. That wish gave birth to numerous complaints and various demands which England could not concede without effectually dissolving her connection with Canada. The English Radicals, however, saw in the Canadian malcontents a welcome ally whom they thought right to support in Parliament on every occasion. Government itself was not disinclined to make some liberal concessions by way of reconciliation; but the French population, headed by a certain *Papineau*, broke out into an open insurrection, which was however soon quelled, despite the support offered to them by the frontier inhabitants of the United States. A second attempt at disturbance likewise failed, and the English Government at last resolved to move in Parliament for extraordinary measures. It was then enacted that the constitution of Canada should be suspended until November, 1840, and the administration of the colony be carried on in the interval by the governor and his council. Lord Durham was deputed to

Canada for that purpose. He caused the insurgents to be disarmed, the leaders arrested, and some of them banished to the Bermuda Islands. To inflict the punishment of transportation, was a right to which the governor was certainly not authorised by law, and the enemies of Lord Durham and the Ministers were not slow in pointing to that incident in their attacks on the Government, who, in their perplexity, disapproved of the decree and conduct of Lord Durham. The latter resigned his office in consequence, and at the same time issued a very violent proclamation against the unfair proceedings of the Government, who, however, had not sufficient courage to notice and punish the offensive language. In the following year Government brought in a bill for the re-union of the two Canadas, which, being met with a strong opposition, was withdrawn, and they contented themselves with providing Lower Canada with a provisional Administration.

Ireland has been and is still the sore spot of all Governments. England's aristocracy and high churchmen have not yet forgotten the injuries inflicted upon them by O'Connell, the "*Liberator of Ireland*," who already in 1837 dared to pronounce

that "the Catholic emancipation was only the first instalment of the debt due to Ireland." That arch-demagogue knew well how to organise and keep his lively countrymen in constant agitation by new societies and new operations. He called together monster meetings, spoke to their passions, descanted on the innate power of their men, the virtues of their women, and the beauty, but also the poverty, of their island. He was not less profuse in his personal attacks against individual members of the Opposition than in his claims and demands at the hands of the Legislature, which was at that time very much occupied with the Church affairs of Ireland.

Ireland was sighing under the burdens imposed upon her by a religious and political fanaticism. The minority of the population belonging to the established church of England, was almost in exclusive possession of the church estates throughout the island, and a number of Protestant clergymen might be seen who had no living from church and congregation, but whom the poor Catholic population were compelled to maintain from their private resources. It is true that Parliament had in 1834 greatly reduced the number of bishoprics, and made provisions that

the superfluous Anglican livings should remain unoccupied; the English clergy, however, did all that they could to save from this shipwreck at least their church property. Government had repeatedly attempted to employ the excess of the clergy for general and more especially for educational purposes; but the proposals were always met by strong opposition from the Conservatives. It was in the upper House especially where every reasonable attempt at reform was negatived, and the existing system was retained with all its defects and mismanagements. Many debates also took place during this session about the oath of the Irish members, but without effective results. Indeed all the debates and proceedings in Parliament concerning the Irish affairs during that session produced no other result than to bring out the views of the various parties in strong relief, and to throw a light on the diminished influence of Ministers in the upper House, where, in addition, a bitter crusade was conducted against the foreign policy of the Government as regarded the civil war in Spain. The session closed on the 16th August, 1838.

CHAP. III.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHARTIST AGITATION.—THE JAMAICA BILL.—FALL AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WHIG MINISTRY IN THE SESSION OF 1838 AND 1839.

AN agitation of a novel character was in the meanwhile preparing in the country. The popular agitations by which the Reform Bill was carried in previous years, had rendered the masses accessible to radical reforms, had shaken their traditional attachment to the constitution of the country, and raised in their minds a desire for further rights and privileges. The Reform Bill itself was far from satisfying the people at large, as neither they themselves nor their interests enjoyed under it legislative representation in Parliament. Nor were the new Poor Laws calculated to assuage the discontent of the masses, who looked at them as the immediate

cause of the high prices of provisions. The vast number of operatives accumulated in the manufacturing districts now wanted a much larger share in the fruit of labour. They cared therefore but little about the new agitation against the Corn Laws, as diminution in prices appeared to them tantamount to a diminution in the rate of wages. Their own demands were of a more political character; they asked for general suffrage by ballot, for annual elections, and for the pay of the members in the House. These demands they embodied in the "*People's Charter*," whence they received the name of "*Chartists*." In the autumn of 1838 the sphere of their operations had greatly extended in point and character. Large meetings were held in the open air by torchlight during the night, which added solemnity to the cause, and inspired the minds of the adherents with redoubled enthusiasm. Government having forbidden such meetings, a large assemblage of the working classes, about 20,000 in number, met together near Manchester, and was presided over by Fielden, the Chartist member of Parliament. This meeting was to be an introduction to a move on the part of the working classes to petition Parliament in favour of

the *People's Charter*. One of the principal speakers at the meeting, a certain Stephens, thus explained the meaning of the term:—"The principle of the *People's Charter*," said he, "is the right possessed by any one who breathes the free air of heaven, or walks upon the free ground of the earth, to have a comfortable dwelling, and to feel himself happy, like all his fellow creatures, in the possession of a wife and a family. The question about universal suffrage is after all but a knife and fork question. I understand by it, that every labourer in the kingdom shall have a right to possess a good coat, hat, safe dwelling, and enjoy a healthy meal; that he shall not work more than his health will allow, and that he shall receive as much wages as will enable him to live comfortably, and enjoy those amusements to which every rational being is entitled." These words may be regarded as indicating the view which the speakers held on the subject, and it may readily be conceived how such language was calculated to find favour with the masses. This same Stephens was arrested for his speeches before the close of the year, which act caused great excitement amongst the Chartists. Disturbances took place at Birmingham, and preparations

for similar outbreaks were being made in several other places, when, at the beginning of 1839, a so-called *National Convention* was convoked at London, where a petition, alleged to be signed by 1,200,000 persons, was laid before the House on the 12th of July, by Mr. Attwood, but which was rejected by a vote of 235 against 189.

The National Convention had in the meantime removed to Birmingham, which called forth renewed disturbances, and compelled the police, after much trouble, to arrest the Chartist leaders. On the 15th July more disturbances took place, and were only quelled by the help of the military. An incident of a peculiar character closed the Chartist agitations of that year. A justice of the peace, named Frost, had induced the superstitious inhabitants of his district to a crusade to Newport, whence the flag of Chartism was to spread all over the country. Arrived at the gates of the town the whole crowd was dispersed by a few armed soldiers. Their leaders, Frost, Williams, and Jones, were arrested, tried, and sentenced to death, which sentence, however, was afterwards commuted to transportation for life.

On the 6th of February, 1839, the new Parliament

opened under auspices the least favourable to Ministers. The confusion arising from stagnation in trade, the agitation of the Chartists, and the formation of the Anti-Corn-Law League was still further aggravated by the bad state of the public exchequer and a general feeling of distrust in the management of public affairs. It was only in the large towns that a number of zealous Reformers adhered to the existing Government. In the lower House the ministerial majority had become so small that the fate of the Cabinet measures depended wholly on chance and extraneous circumstances, though the Radicals had again joined the ministerial party in order to keep the Conservatives out of office. It was in that session that Lord John Russell observed in Parliament, that "the Reform Bill required further alterations," an observation with which he was so often reproached at a later period. In the upper House Lord Melbourne declared that the Corn Laws were under consideration, and that although the majority of the Cabinet were in favour of alterations no definite resolution had as yet been arrived at.

At this time Ireland also proved a bone of contention between the two parties. After many delibera-

tions and debates, Parliament could not come to an understanding upon the details of the new municipal constitution which was to be granted to Ireland. The right of voting for the election of magistrates still rested, in the larger towns of Ireland, on the old aristocratic basis, which gave preponderance to the Protestant portion of the community. Government wished to found that elective right upon a broader basis, but failed to carry the measure through the upper House. After many fruitless attempts at compromise, Lord John Russell was compelled to announce in the House that the bill had been given up.

Much more important in its consequences was the Jamaica Bill. Ever since the slave-emancipation, there existed continual bickerings between the mother country and the West India planters. Those of Jamaica in particular having represented in bitter terms the fatal results of the emancipation, Parliament was induced to pass an Act against the abuses of the existing prison system in that island. This Act was viewed, however, by the Legislature there, as an encroachment upon their rights, and they most obstinately refused to make any alterations in the internal administration of the island. Government

then moved in Parliament the suspension of the Jamaica constitution for five years. The motion was strongly opposed by the Conservative party, and the second reading of the bill was only carried by a majority of five. The consequence was that Ministers gave in their resignation.

On the 7th of May the Queen ordered the Duke of Wellington to form a new Cabinet. He immediately named Sir Robert Peel as future Prime Minister. The Queen told them both in plain terms that she reluctantly separated from her old Ministers, while in the country itself a great reaction suddenly took place in favour of the old Cabinet. The Conservatives, it is true, were rejoiced at the change, but in the larger towns it was admitted that an error had been committed in having allowed the fall of a Liberal Government. Neither was O'Connell behind in these lamentations, he having never ceased to see in the Conservative party the sworn ally of the bigoted Orange lodges in Ireland. Sir Robert Peel could not conceal from himself the difficulty of his situation. Though he was sure to command a majority in the upper House, he knew perfectly well that in the lower House he had no better chance than

his predecessors in the carrying of measures. He saw wisely in the present moment only a repetition of the attempt in 1835, when the close union of the Whigs and Radicals compelled him in a few months to resign office. There can be no doubt that this consideration, and not the occurrence we are about to mention, was the real motive of Sir Robert Peel's refusing to form a Tory Cabinet. He was not the man to play with half-chances, which he saw were now not better cast than in 1835.

On the 10th of May the formation of a Tory Cabinet was nearly completed, when it became known that Sir R. Peel had made a request of the Queen with which she positively refused to comply. He wanted to remove from her court the Ladies-in-waiting, composed of members of the leading Whig families, which demand the Queen declined, on the ground that it was not only contrary to custom but also repugnant to her feelings. His reason for making the request, as he alleged, was to show the country that her Majesty placed unlimited confidence in the new Ministry. Be this, however, as it may, Sir Robert declared that he could not under such circumstances think of forming a Cabinet, and the

Whigs thereupon announced in Parliament their intention of reconstructing the Cabinet. Mutual recriminations revealed afterwards the true position of affairs, nor did the Tories despise an attempt at forming a counter-party at court, headed by the Dowager-Queen Adelaide.

The Whig Ministry was reconstructed with some modification. Lord Normanby was appointed Home Secretary in lieu of Lord Glenelg, who had been guilty of several gross blunders in the Canadian affairs. Macaulay, a Scotchman and a thorough Whig, alike celebrated for his powers of oratory and literary attainments, became Minister of War. In the lower House the previous speaker, Abercrombie, resigned, and Shaw Lefevre was elected in his place by 317 against 299 votes, the latter number having voted for Goulburn, the Tory candidate.

The most important measure of the new Ministry was the temporary settlement of the Jamaica disputes. Government, adopting the previous suggestion of the Conservative party, now proposed that the colonial Parliament of Jamaica should once more be convoked, in order to give them another opportunity of introducing suitable alterations in their internal

administration; and in case of peremptory refusal, the Governor should be empowered to make them himself according to circumstances.

But even this proposal was met with energetic opposition in the lower House, while the upper House made still further modifications in the bill, which were at last consented to in the lower House. The question was thus for the present set at rest.

Of the other proceedings of Parliament during this session we will only mention two notable facts. Macaulay, to the great scandal of the Tories, was bold enough to declare himself in favour of a motion for voting by ballot made by the Radical Grote. Rowland Hill's plan of the penny postage was introduced by Government in the House, and adopted despite a numerous opposition, in which even Sir Robert Peel had joined. The session closed on the 7th of August.

CHAP. IV.

MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN.—THE STOCKDALE-HANSARD
DISPUTE IN THE PARLIAMENT OF 1840.

THE new session began on the 16th of January, 1840. The Address from the Throne contained many interesting topics, among which was the announcement of the royal marriage. The political topics in it gave rise to the ordinary attacks upon and defence of the ministerial policy, and were only distinguished by an unusual want of tact and judgment on the part of the Tories in marking out a new field of battle against the Ministers. The union of the ministerial with the O'Connell party had roused in the Tories a suspicion against the orthodox feelings of the Ministers, and they expressed a fear lest the Sovereign herself might be infected with the religious malady. It was no doubt meant as a petty revenge

for her having shown so much personal satisfaction with the Whig Ministry. With an emphasis truly comical, the Duke of Wellington found fault with the address because Ministers had omitted to state in it whether the future consort of her Majesty was *really a Protestant* according to the laws of the land. He actually persuaded the upper House to insert in the reply a few words to that effect. Lord Brougham was the only one who saw in the manœuvre great danger for the public welfare, and entreated their Lordships not to indulge in personal vindictiveness. The new field of personalities seemed to the latter, however, so interesting that, when in a few days the bill of naturalization was brought before them, their Lordships refused to sanction the clause in which the rank next to the Queen had been accorded to the Prince, and actually struck it out from the bill; whilst in the lower House the Tories succeeded in reducing the allowance to the Prince from £50,000 to £30,000 sterling. All this was but a preliminary and indirect attack against the Ministers, who were about to be assailed in a more direct and decisive manner. On the 28th of January Sir T. Yarde Buller moved for a vote of want of confidence in Government. The

parties were so nearly balanced in strength that the result was looked for with great anxiety. Nothing told against the Ministers so severely as the deficient state of the finances, to which Sir Robert Peel pointed with unusual eloquence. The impossibility, however, of forming a new Administration was a circumstance greatly in favour of the existing Cabinet, and after lengthened debates of three days' duration, the motion was lost by 308 against 287.

Before we proceed to notice the changes in the home and foreign policy of the country, which brought about the definitive fall of the Ministry in the following year, we will briefly mention an event almost unparalleled in the annals of parliamentary history, and which, though it had already commenced in 1837, was not terminated until the session of 1840. We allude to the Stockdale-Hansard dispute relative to the printing privilege.

In one of the Parliamentary Committee Reports on prison discipline, it was observed that there were found upon some of the prisoners at Newgate obscene works published by a certain Stockdale. The latter brought an action for libel against Hansard, the parliamentary printer, in November, 1836. Hansard

pleaded in his defence the authority of Parliament, and the question naturally arose whether that authority exempted him from responsibility in the publication of libel. Lord Denman declared himself against that view. "I know," he said, "of no corporation in England that has the right to authorise the publication and sale of a libel, and he that sells such a publication is himself responsible for the act." But the Committee of the House declared that Parliament possesses unlimited right to publish as much as it pleases of its own proceedings, that Parliament constitutes its own and only tribunal as regards the existence and extent of its privileges, and that there is consequently no other tribunal in the realm that can control its actions. Hansard, in consequence of the decision of the House, not having thought it necessary to answer and appear any more before the Court, was judged *in contumace*, and a warrant of distress executed on his property by the Sheriffs of London. Matters had arrived at this stage when Lord John Russell, on the very first day of the session of 1840, moved that Stockdale, his attorney, and also the Sheriffs, should be arrested as offenders against the authority of the House. The motion was acted upon,

and the parties arrested. Stockdale, however, having shown repentance, and expressed his regret, was liberated. But no sooner had he recovered his liberty than he recommenced an action against Hansard. To put a stop to the conflicting decisions Lord John Russell introduced a bill for the protection of parliamentary publications. The motion having passed the lower House, was accepted also by the upper House, with a few modifications, and all the prisoners were thereupon set free.

As usual, the Irish affairs again occupied most of the time and labour of Parliament, and as usual everything remained in *statu quo*. The strength of the parties had become so nearly balanced, that neither was able to advance a step. We pass over all the unimportant discussions on the subject, as also those on the state of the finances, which clearly showed an increased deficit, and we will only make some allusion to the Chinese war, which had broken out about this time: we mention it simply because it afforded to party spirit food for bitter criticism, more especially as the Government had not at first carried on the war with sufficient firmness, nor assumed the most suitable position at the negotiations of peace. We shall not here in-

investigate the question as to the justice or injustice of that war, although its characteristic indication as the *Opium War* seems to us a perfect misnomer. During that session, Lord John Russell, after much opposition, succeeded in passing a bill for the union of the two Canadas. A bill also passed for the appointment of Prince Albert as Regent, in case of the death of the Queen during the minority of the heir apparent to the throne. Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of August with the usual pomp and ceremony.

CHAP. V.

THE PARTIES, AND FALL OF THE WHIG MINISTRY IN 1841.



IN the interval between the two sessions, public opinion had been greatly excited by various events both at home and abroad. The treaty which had been concluded on the 15th July, 1840, between England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, for the restitution of Syria to the Sultan, had led to popular discontent in France. The diplomatic defeat which the Thiers Ministry had suffered was to be counterbalanced by artificial manœuvres, calculated to frighten England into concessions. All the French *tapage*, however, was unable to save Syria for Mehemet Ali; Lord Palmerston's victory was complete, and Thiers was obliged to hand over the portfolio to Guizot, his rival. The opinion of English statesmen of all parties was in favour of the ministerial measures, by which

alone, it was believed, a general European war could be prevented. But the people at large were far from being agreed upon the point. The Liberals, as well as the Radicals, disapproved of the steps taken by Government. The former condemned the rupture with France as a concession to the so-called absolute powers, and as an injury inflicted on the progress of liberal notions generally, that party being accustomed to view, in the union of France and England, the guarantee of the constitutional principle adopted in both countries. The Radicals, on the other hand, had an aversion to war generally. War was with them only another term for increased taxes, decreasing revenue, and, above all, a preponderant influence of the aristocracy. These disputes were not without influence on the vital questions on which soon after the fate of the Cabinet depended.

About the same time, two agitations, diametrically opposed to each other in character and principle, engrossed public attention, but, strange to say, both found at a later period an exponent in one and the same man. The agitation conducted by Sir Robert Peel in favour of the restoration of the Tory influence had been of some years' standing, and was nearing

its successful issue; while that of the Anti-Corn-Law League, headed by Cobden, was in its incipient career, and had as yet found but little sympathy among the people at large. The means employed by the two agitators were as different from each other as were the ends they had in view. Sir Robert Peel's efforts were particularly directed to the undeniable errors of his opponents, which he tried to turn to the advantage of his own party. He did so with all the skill of a man who had become great in party warfare, who was slow but sure in aiming a blow. He was certainly not over nice in the choice of his means, but, having pronounced himself against the most important views of the Whigs, the Tories had some claim upon his leadership in the House, where, though he did not positively support all their prejudices, he listened passively to their opinions, thereby inducing a belief at least that he tacitly approved of them. His first advice was to reconstruct the party by parliamentary election, *i. e.*, to bring upon the elective registers in the towns and boroughs as many votes as possible,—a scheme by which he really succeeded, year after year, in strengthening the Opposition in Parliament. Relying upon the gradually increasing strength

of his party, he refused, in 1839, the temptation of constructing a Cabinet upon the as yet slender prospect of success : his hope lay in the future. The growing deficiencies in the revenue, arising in part from his own opposition to some of the salutary measures brought forward by Government, by which the calamity might possibly have been averted, tended on the one hand to deprive the Ministers more and more of partisans, and to promote his own views on the other.

It was quite different with Cobden's agitation. Hoping to succeed at last in having the Corn Laws repealed, his parliamentary activity consisted in pleading, though in vain, session after session, for their repeal, whilst his labours out of the House were zealously employed in persuading the people of the iniquity of those laws. But here also the cause he pleaded for did not meet with rapid or enthusiastic success. The Anti-Corn-Law League had been founded as early as 1838 by merchants in Manchester, perhaps not without some selfish motive to lower the rate of labour by cheapening the prices of food—a circumstance which prevented the cause from becoming popular in less time. The League had thus to encounter enemies from two opposite sides : the Aristocracy and

the Landed Interest on the one hand, and the Chartists on the other. The former were either apprehensive of losing their influence, or laboured under the impression that protective duties are essential to national welfare. The Chartists, on the other hand, saw in the labours of the League only a combination to benefit the manufacturers at the expense of the working classes. The members of the League, though they were as yet too weak as an independent party, were nevertheless of considerable importance as auxiliaries. O'Connell lent them his support, as did also a considerable number of the dissenting clergy ; but the grand operations of the League, as a *great fact*, began at a much later period.

These various operations, agitations, and manœuvres appeared in the foreground of the debates soon after the meeting of Parliament on the 26th of January, 1841, when the campaign opened respecting the foreign policy of the Government. But as the leaders of the parties, as we have already mentioned, approved of that policy, the attacks led to no result. It was different, however, with the position of affairs at home. Various circumstances had conspired to render the present session one of the

most important in the annals of Parliament. The term of the New Poor-Law system, which had been adopted in 1834, was about expiring in 1841, and a motion for its prolongation gave full scope to party feelings. The passions to which those laws gave rise were of a most acrimonious character. The landowners, whose patriarchal influence on the rural population had ceased with the introduction of those laws, and the labouring classes, who quarrelled with the principle of being relieved by the state only in cases of distress and utter helplessness, now went hand in hand in opposition to that system, and with them also a great number of those who had stigmatised the Poor Laws, more especially when first brought into force, as cruel and barbarous. This united and violent opposition led to long and extended debates, which were only closed in favour of the new Poor Laws by the unanimous acknowledgment of the leaders of all parties that the old system had only tended to impoverish and demoralise the country, and to impose taxes to an unbearable extent; and that consequently to remedy the evil it was necessary to introduce new and more efficient laws into the system. A motion to reject the Government bill for the pro-

longation of the Poor Law Commissioners was negatived, and Government at last claimed a victory in that respect.

With regard to Scotland, the Kirk affairs there engrossed the attention of the upper House to a considerable extent. The question turned mainly as to whether the right of appointing a minister does not exclusively belong to the community. The strict Presbyterians, with Dr. Chalmers at their head, decided in favour of the community, and their influence on the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was so great, that the latter divested of their dignity all those Presbyters who had installed church ministers without the sanction of the community. The subject was then brought before Parliament, where various means were in vain devised to reconcile the two parties. The disputes resulted in a complete separation of the parties, the orthodox Presbyterians having resolved to found by their own means a *non-intrusion* Kirk.

Of far more importance for the development of party prospects was the resumption of the Irish question. Both Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby) and the Government brought in, almost simultaneously,

bills for the amendment of the laws on the qualifications of Irish electors. Notwithstanding O'Connell's passionate appeals in favour of the ministerial plan, the Government was several times defeated, and at last compelled to adopt the plan submitted by Lord Stanley. The time was fast approaching when the Ministers would be forced to yield to the rule of their opponents.

It must, indeed, appear strange to any one who is somewhat familiar with the principles of state affairs, that such a scientific and practical statesman as Lord John Russell should have refused to surrender the Government to the Opposition after so many parliamentary defeats in both the years 1839 and 1840. We must consider, however, that the Tories had then formed, as perhaps now, only a factious Opposition in the House, to whom the Ministers were perhaps unwilling to sacrifice the higher interests of the country. That this same party should when in power (as subsequently in 1852) carry out the very principles propounded by the Whig Cabinet, was a thing the least expected from them, but which will be more fully explained in the sequel.

The greatest enemy of the Whig Cabinet was al-

ways its *financial embarrassment*, which had increased from year to year ; and the danger was still more aggravated by the circumstance that the Government was unable to devise means to remedy the evil, simply because the remedy was closely connected with radical measures affecting the financial and economical principles of the country, measures which the Ministers did not possess sufficient power to carry through the House.

The decrease above alluded to, under the Whig administration, is shown in the following table :—

	Deficiency of Revenue.
1837	£654,860
1838	345,227
1839	1,512,793
1840	1,593,971
1841	2,101,370

Whilst the five preceding years exhibit a surplus of revenue in each year, viz. :—

	Surplus of Revenue.
1832	£614,759
1833	1,512,093
1834	1,608,155
1835	1,620,941
1836	2,130,092

At the eleventh hour, however, Ministers, finding their position untenable, made an attempt at a financial reform, calculating, no doubt, on the popularity of the measure, and the assistance of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and no less, perhaps, on the difficulties and embarrassments they were thereby preparing for the Opposition, whose accession to power could be no longer doubted.

On the 30th of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer having made his financial statement to the House, Lord John Russell announced his intention of moving in a Committee of the whole House, on the 31st May, for a revision of the Corn Laws. On the part of the Ministers it was undisguisedly stated that alterations in the existing Customs Tariff had become a matter of necessity, both for the purpose of improving the public revenue, and for the better development of native industry. The discussions to which the motion gave rise were followed by a general movement throughout the country. The Anti-Corn-Law League redoubled its exertions : it formed branch societies,—sent emissaries to all parts of the kingdom,—and raised a popular cry, “*Cheap Bread;*” whilst the Opposition in Parliament, aided by the societies

established for the abolition of slavery, raised against that measure a counter, not less popular, cry of "*Slave Sugar*," the differential duty on which Ministers had proposed to abolish. The question of *Free Trade* then, for the first time, came before the House in the form of the *sugar question*. The approaching fall of the Cabinet might have been foreseen in the haughty words of Sir Robert Peel, which contrasted remarkably with those by which he, a few years later, expressed the fundamental principles of his policy :— "I do not intend," he addressed the Whigs, "to follow your example, to oppose now the measure before us, and recommend it next year to Parliament. . . . I am no general friend to the principle that our right policy consists in buying in the *cheapest* market. I prefer a sliding-scale to a fixed duty."

In the course of his speech, he gave it to be understood that he considered himself as the future Minister of the Crown, although he contented himself on that occasion with a general promise to restore the balance between the revenue and expenditure. He certainly was not quite wrong when he concluded his speech by telling the Ministers that it was only the fear of losing office that prompted them to

the proposal of these measures. On this occasion, Lord Palmerston made a very spirited speech on Customs Duties, in which he showed himself a staunch advocate of absolute Free Trade. At a division, the Ministers lost by 36 votes (317 against 281). It was generally expected that they would at last have thought it advisable to resign. They still lingered in office, however, and Sir Robert Peel thought it then right to hasten the catastrophe by a direct motion of want of confidence in Ministers. The debates on the motion began on the 27th May, and lasted during seven sittings. On a division, the motion was carried by a majority of one (312 against 311), and the Ministers then declared that under these circumstances the country must decide by a fresh election. Parliament was prorogued on the 22nd of June, and dissolved on the succeeding day.

The new Parliament was convoked for the 19th of August, and the election agitations commenced immediately after the dissolution of the old one. The new liberal measures in commerce which the Government held out in prospect increased, rather than diminished, the number of the Opposition. The foreign relations of the country, to which some writers attribute the fall

of the Cabinet, played but a secondary part upon the hustings; nor were attempts omitted on this occasion to stigmatise the Tory party as one prone to offer personal insults to the Queen. The result of the elections was a decided majority for the Tories of 70 to 80 votes. The paragraph in the address from the throne, recommending the expediency of making alterations in the existing Corn Laws, became the battle field on which the victory to be gained remained no longer doubtful. In the upper House, the ministerial address remained in a minority of 72 votes, whilst in the lower House, though the former Whig candidate, Shaw Lefevre, was re-elected Speaker, a counter-address was moved by the Opposition. After lengthened debates, the ministerial address was also here rejected by a majority of 91 (360 against 269). On the 30th of August the Ministers declared their resignation in both Houses, whereupon the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were commissioned by the Queen to form a new Cabinet.

CHAP. VI.

THE PEEL CABINET OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1841.



THE new Cabinet came into power on the 1st of September, 1841. It consisted of persons who had either already served in a Tory Ministry, or distinguished themselves in the late debates against the Whigs. Nothing was now heard of the difficulties which Sir R. Peel was alleged to have met in 1839, concerning the personal attendants of the Queen. The Tories were again at the head of the Administration, which was chequered with various tendencies, though its outward appearance betokened a uniform principle. Sir R. Peel throughout his public career had always belonged to the Conservative party, where his talents secured him an honourable position. But he was a Conservative after a peculiar fashion of his own. His efforts and principles were always directed

against the abuses in legislation and public life, and he never refused to give his aid in support of facts which could no longer be denied. Though only a second-rate orator, his words and thoughts were clear and to the point ; as a statesman he was cautious, almost to a fault ; he was neither too sanguine in his expectations, nor too positive in promises. These qualities, added to his financial talents, had endeared him to his party and the nation at large. His faithful shield-bearer, ever since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, was the Duke of Wellington, who had been by turns idolised and scorned by his countrymen, but who occupied, under all circumstances, an important position.

Though the Duke was not brought up a statesman, nature had endowed him with a rich portion of common sense, or mother-wit, which was still more sharpened by the various and extraordinary difficulties of his military career. He entered the new Cabinet without a portfolio, and belonged to the moderate Tories.

The Duke of Buckingham, who was appointed Lord Privy Seal, was neither distinguished for his oratory nor political abilities, but he joined the Cabi-

net as the personification, as it were, of the Corn Laws, of which he was a staunch advocate. The proposals of the fallen Cabinet, which tended to modify those laws, proved one of the stepping-stones by which Sir R. Peel had attained his present position; and it cannot be wondered that the Corn-Law party thought they had found their exponent in the new Cabinet.

Of a very different cast was Lord Lyndhurst, a skilful orator, an eminent debater, and one of the greatest lawyers of the realm, who (though of plebeian origin, from North America) ruled by his will the Tory party in the upper House. When in the Opposition it was his custom, at the close of every session, to favour the House with an analysis of the ministerial proceedings during the session. These speeches were replete with biting criticisms and witty strictures on the views and doings of the Cabinet, to the great edification of his hearers. He became Lord Chancellor in the new Cabinet. Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby) belonged formerly to the Whigs, and he it was who introduced the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Differences however, on the application of Irish church property, had brought him over to the Tory camp. Passionate by nature, he bore a profound

hatred, ever since he had been Secretary for Ireland, against O'Connell, who had indulged in malicious sarcasms against that haughty nobleman. As a statesman, he stands accused of many faults, nor has he ever, owing to the impetuosity of his temper, produced much effect as an orator, though he knows how to lend a peculiar charm to his speeches. To him was allotted the Secretaryship for the Colonies.

Sir James Graham had previously left the Whig Cabinet on the same occasion as Lord Stanley, and he now entered the Tory Cabinet with him as Home Secretary. Sir James is one of those practical and shrewd men, who, without occupying the first rank, know how to render themselves indispensable to their party. Lord Aberdeen was appointed Foreign Secretary, a post he had previously occupied under the Wellington Ministry. He possesses no extraordinary talents, and was at an earlier period accused of partiality for continental absolutism. But little remains to be said of the other members of the new Cabinet: suffice it to mention that the high church party was not unrepresented amongst them.

It is a fact, though the Tories would not admit it,

that there existed no uniformity in the leading ideas either in the Cabinet or in the party at large ; neither could Sir R. Peel boast of possessing the full and implicit confidence of his party. The High Churchmen had not yet forgiven him his apostacy in favour of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, whilst the landowners suspected in him a leaning towards a more liberal policy in commerce, so much so that his party even muttered loud threats of deserting him should he ever take it into his head to attack the palladium of the Corn Laws. Sir Robert, on his part, viewed these threats as mere childish poutings, conscious that he was indispensable to the party. He positively refused pledging himself for the maintenance of the Corn Laws, and the whole of his conduct showed a reluctance to limit the free sphere of his political operations by any previous engagement or promise. He demanded obedience, and would not allow questions. The English nation appears to have witnessed his re-elevation to office with satisfaction. It expected from him a better management of the public finances at home, and a restoration of peaceable relations abroad.

Differences with North America and France, war

in China and the East Indies, were the inheritance left by the Whig Cabinet. Cobden's agitation had gained much ground in Ireland. O'Connell saluted the return of the Tories to power with open hostility. New unions were founded, new plans devised, and the Repeal agitation extended far and wide; while the agitator himself no longer hesitated to exclaim, loudly and publicly, that "England's weakness is Ireland's strength," so long as there was a chance of a war with France.

The new Parliament met on the 16th of September, anxiously awaiting the measures to be brought forward by the new Minister. Sir Robert, however, contented himself for the moment with adopting the old budget of the last Cabinet, and proposing to cover the deficit with new exchequer bills and a trifling loan. The principal reason of the delay was that the Ministers had not as yet come to a perfect understanding on the new measures to be proposed, owing to the heterogeneous elements of which the Cabinet was composed. Even his own party looked with dissatisfaction, if not with suspicion, at the delay. Sir Robert, however, remained true to his principle, not to be shackled in his public labours

by considerations apart from public duties. He was independent of friend and foe, and his financial measures, as also the renewal of the Poor Laws, which he moved for, were consented to, and the House finally adjourned on the 7th of October.

CHAP. VII.

PEEL'S FINANCIAL AND CUSTOMS MEASURES OF 1842.



THE interval between the sessions was employed on all sides in preparation for the coming contest. The Ministers were fully engaged with the unsettled state of foreign affairs in which Lord Palmerston had left them. The difference with France was daily assuming a more threatening attitude, while the disputes relative to the Oregon territory were still further aggravated by the proceedings of the North American tribunal against Mac Leod, a British officer. Neither were the Asiatic wars calculated to lessen the difficulties of the Cabinet. Public opinion in England had, for the last forty years, always been in favour of honourable peace, and the endeavours of Lord Aberdeen were in consequence employed to procure peace without actually betray-

ing the honour of the nation. Ministers, however, succeeded in their endeavours. France was at last pacified; Lord Ashburton was sent on a special mission to the United States to settle the question at issue; whilst, in India and China, war was continued with vigour and activity. The internal position of England, indeed, rendered a pacific policy not only advisable but even necessary. The exports had decreased from £53,233,000 in 1839 to £47,381,000 in 1842; showing a decrease of six millions, of which three millions fell to the account of cotton manufactures alone, which amounted in 1839 to £24,550,000, and in 1842 to £21,679,000. Several mills had stopped working, and a great number of operatives had been thrown out of employment—a circumstance that led to disturbances in some of the manufacturing districts. Agricultural produce, too, had experienced a considerable decline; wheat had fallen in price from 70*s.* 8*d.* per quarter in 1839 to 57*s.* 3*d.* per quarter in 1842; oats from 25*s.* 11*d.* to 19*s.* 3*d.* per quarter; barley from 39*s.* 6*d.* to 27*s.* 6*d.* per quarter. The complaint of distress was thus of a general character, and the sympathies of the working classes were assailed by the two leading agitations of

the Chartists and the Anti-Corn-Law League,—the one claiming for them increased wages, and the other cheap bread. The manufacturers and merchants naturally sided with the League, which as its pecuniary resources increased was enabled to employ expensive means for establishing branch societies, publishing millions of tracts, and sending emissaries throughout the kingdom to preach to the masses the necessity of abolishing the Corn Laws. The Chartists were thus left in the background, probably from want of proper means to carry on the agitation on a more extended scale.

What the intention of Government was with regard to the Corn Laws no one could tell; it remained a Cabinet secret, and the public only exhausted itself in conjectures, although the withdrawal of the Duke of Buckingham from the Cabinet, early in 1842, seemed to have afforded some clue to it. It was rumoured that he was induced to that step by the measures intended to be introduced by the Government with regard to the Corn Laws, to which he could not give his consent. It was at all events a signal to friend and foe that some alteration was to be proposed. The address from the throne, on the 3rd of

February, 1842, (at which the King of Prussia was present,) announced that measures would be brought forward touching the Finances, Commerce, and the Corn Laws of the country. On the 9th of February, Sir Robert Peel made Parliament acquainted with his plans. The attention of the country had been strained to the utmost, and all the avenues leading to the House were literally blocked up by an immense crowd of spectators, whilst a procession of the Anti-Corn-Law League tried to give a certain direction to the views of the assembly. It must indeed have been a proud moment for an individual who owed everything to himself to have excited so much attention and curiosity throughout the country, although much more gratification of personal ambition was in store for him at a later period.

In a speech which lasted for several hours, and which was listened to with breathless attention, Sir Robert dwelt on the causes of commercial distress, which he skilfully connected with the existing Corn Laws. He did not believe, he said, that low prices of corn had anything to do with the material welfare of the country at large, since England produced enough of it for her own consumption; and, added

he, as it would be dangerous to make her depend too much on the importation of corn from abroad, protection to native agriculture was highly necessary. He was therefore not inclined to make any alteration in the principle of the existing sliding scale, but merely some modifications in its application, by fixing the maximum of the duty at 20*s.* instead, as hitherto, at 35*s.* 8*d.* He closed his speech by assuring the House that in devising his plans he had the interests of *all* classes of society in view.

It will be seen that Sir Robert was more circumspect than bold in his proposals. But though he dared not to attack the principle of the existing laws, or the mighty interests connected with them, he did more than enough to alarm his agricultural friends. Neither was he more fortunate with the Opposition, who demanded a fixed duty ; while the League deprecated a duty of any kind. Though he was most violently assailed by both parties in Parliament, he carried his measures triumphantly through the House, simply because there was no person to occupy his place with safety. The amendment of Lord John Russell for a fixed duty of 8*s.* per quarter was negatived by 349 against 326 votes, whilst Villiers' motion

for the entire abolition of the Corn Laws was rejected by a majority of 303. Christopher's motion for a higher sliding scale was also negatived, the majority being 306 against 104, and the original plan was consented to on the 5th of April. Before the Corn Bill had passed through all its stages, Sir Robert brought in his new financial measure of a direct income tax of sevenpence per pound sterling on all incomes exceeding £150 per annum. He considered the increase or even introduction of new indirect taxes as injurious to the prosperity of the country, and proposed on the contrary a diminution in the rate of customs duties. Neither the opposition of the Whigs to, nor even the open discontent of the people in some parts of the country with, the measure had any effect on his resolution. He knew his position, calculated correctly, and carried his plan against all opposition, high and low. The bill, by which a new element was introduced in national economy, passed both Houses and received the Royal sanction.

The third financial measure had reference to the alterations in the Customs Tariff, which he laid before the House on the 5th of May. The various

rates of duties, prohibitions, and exemptions which pervaded the British tariff had wrought a perfect confusion in its application for practical purposes. Some of the provisions for restricting the trade of particular countries had been made in a spirit of hostility, more especially as regarded France; others were manifestly made for the exclusive benefit of the treasury, and again others for the encouragement of industry generally. The confusion was still further enhanced by the complicated regulations of the Navigation Laws. It is true that several modifications had been effected in the tariff since the year 1820, and from that year to 1841 inclusive, duties had been repealed to the estimated amount of £9,190,900*, whilst those imposed only amounted to £3,746,800; leaving a balance of £5,444,100 for the actual amount of reductions. Nevertheless, these alterations were of such a contradictory character that it was evident the Legislature was guided by no definite principle. Thus, in one year, five articles on which the duties were reduced were in the year following subjected to an increased duty. On some luxuries the duties

* See Appendix.

were diminished, while on some necessities they were increased—the produce from one colony was favoured, whilst that from another was refused equal privileges—some exports were subjected to duty, and some imports exempted. In short, the whole tariff regulations betrayed a want of system and uniformity in the principle of taxation. The proposals which Sir Robert Peel now made were planned in a financial point of view. All duties which tended to check trade without benefiting the revenue he proposed to abolish. This category comprised the greatest number of articles in the then existing tariff. Another category, on which he proposed either to reduce or to repeal the duties, embraced raw materials employed in manufactures, or as necessities of life. The plan was of a comprehensive nature, and the extraordinary impression it made throughout Europe will hardly be forgotten by his contemporaries. The most remarkable part of his speech on that occasion was the conclusion, in which he manifested a thorough bias for Free Trade. “I know,” said he, “that many members who are zealous advocates for Free Trade are of opinion that I have not gone far enough. Neither do I believe that opinions now differ as regards the prin-

ciple of Free Trade. I think that all are agreed that we should buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. But," continued he, "after mature consideration of the present state of the country, and the effect of the change on the landed interests, I think it advisable to make no further alterations in our commercial legislation."

The effect of the speech and plan was decisive. The alterations in the customs tariff were favourably received by the leading merchants and manufacturers; whilst the League, as well as the working classes, viewed the income tax and the reduction of the corn duties as at least the first steps towards cheapening bread and diminishing their own burdens, arising from taxes, &c. The Whig Opposition, therefore, at once acceded to the plan, but nevertheless claimed the credit of having first suggested it.

In proportion, however, as Sir Robert's new liberal plans found favour with the country and the Whigs, the indignation of the Tories and landowners rose with redoubled force. Their suspicions and apprehensions were realised; they thought that he had betrayed their interests, and a powerful opposition against his measures was formed by his own friends

in both Houses of Parliament, as well as by numerous meetings held in the rural districts. Notwithstanding this opposition, his measures were carried, and his proposed customs tariff, with a few modifications, became the law of the land.

Sir Robert Peel's position was singular in the extreme. He triumphed over his enemies by the help of his friends, and scorned the ill-will of his friends by the aid of his enemies. He advanced step by step in his new career; and, while he inflicted injuries on the highest interests in existence, he created new material powers, and prepared new moral and physical engines for the future prosperity of England.

In the meanwhile, the Chartists had found leisure and means to organise their body and to ramify their associations in several parts of the country, and which at that moment seemed to threaten danger to the tranquillity of the nation at large. Stagnation in trade and commerce, the effects of which were felt by all classes of society, and more especially amongst the operatives, afforded to the Chartist leaders a fair opportunity of promulgating their doctrines among the masses, who held numerous meetings, day and night, canvassing their rights and devising the most direct

means of attaining them, and thereby improving the condition of the working classes. After frequent disturbances and strikes, a giant petition, purported to be signed by upwards of three millions of persons, was brought in grand procession, on the 2nd of May, to the House, and presented to Parliament—in the lower House by Duncombe, and afterwards in the upper House by Lord Brougham. The petition contained the six principal points of the “*People’s Charter*.” The motion of the member for Finsbury to allow the petitioners, or their representatives, to plead for themselves was—as might be expected—negatived by a large majority, 287 against 49 votes. It may not be uninteresting to mention that the discussion turned chiefly upon one of the points prayed for by the Charter, viz., *general suffrage*,—and that the liberal Macaulay was amongst those who strenuously opposed it, though in the session of 1839 he voted in favour of Grote’s motion for vote by *ballot*.

It is not our task to enumerate here the whole proceedings of the session of 1842. We must content ourselves with sketching the most important points of the parliamentary labours. The disturbances in the manufacturing districts, chiefly the result of the

Chartist agitations, had considerably occupied the attention of Parliament, and though they gave rise to repeated discussions on the subject no practical result ensued from the debate. The bill of Lord Ashley (now Earl of Shaftesbury) for limiting the labour of women and children in coal mines met with much greater success. Sir James Graham's bill for the prolongation of the Poor Laws experienced much opposition, but as public opinion was decidedly in their favour, the bill passed notwithstanding. The close of the session was now approaching, and although Sir Robert Peel had overcome the great obstacles in his way, he was yet unable to avert, or even soften in some degree, the injurious effects of party spirit. The political parties were more at variance than ever, and the agitations of the working classes were far from being terminated. Indications of an armed rise were visible in the manufacturing districts of the kingdom, and Lord Palmerston, in his speech at the close of the session, in pointing to the disturbed state of the country around them, found many causes for censuring the policy of the Government. Sir Robert Peel, on the other side, analysed the injuries inflicted on the country by the erroneous

policy of the members of the late Government, who, he thought, were now responsible for the sufferings of the people, which he had partly succeeded in removing by his own more just and skilful policy. Nor did he with less pride point to the success of the army in the East since his accession to the Administration. The relations with France, the United States, and the Brazils were, however, still in an unsatisfactory position when the session was brought to a close, on the 12th August.

CHAP. VIII.

THE CORN LAW AGITATION.—THE CHURCH AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.—THE IRISH AGITATION IN 1843, AND THE BANK REFORM IN 1844.

THE Corn-Law agitation, which had increased to an unparalleled extent throughout the whole of England, again claimed public attention. Unions were formed, public meetings held, lectures delivered, and millions of tracts distributed, by which means the agitation penetrated into the circles of the rich and the poor, and challenged the most quiet families to discussion on the justice of the Corn Laws. At the head of the movement stood the indefatigable Cobden, assisted by Bright, Fox, Wilson, and others. Manchester was their seat and focus. The late measures of Sir Robert Peel, which they regarded as a step in advance towards the establishment of their principles, encouraged them still more to per-

severe in their undertaking. The Corn-Law question did not, however, long remain limited to its own sphere, but soon identified itself with the question of Free Trade generally, and paved the way to political debates in the approaching Parliament of a more comprehensive character in commercial legislation. Neither was the Chartist agitation doomed to be passed by in silence in the ensuing session. The monster petition having led to no beneficial results, the indignation of the working classes rose with the increasing distress of their condition, and vented itself in frequent outbreaks of a violent character, which, though easily quelled, might have served as a signal for a general outbreak, which Government thought could only be anticipated by salutary laws. The Irish affairs had also assumed a serious aspect. O'Connell, availing himself of the unpopular position of the Tories in Ireland, made an attempt to obtain a separate Parliament for that kingdom. He infused new life into the *National Loyal Association*, (founded in 1840,) the focus of Irish agitations. Penny contributions constituted the donors members of the association, while repeated meetings were held in all parts of the island, by which a

general enthusiasm was roused amongst the Irish (a people accessible to rapid impressions), for liberty and independence, such as they heard preached from the pulpits and propounded in the lecture halls of their country. O'Connell and his tail spent but little time that year in Parliament, in order to have more leisure for carrying out their plans. We shall see, by and by, how that comprehensive agitation was checked in its progress by a single measure of the Government, that was neither coercive in its nature nor fraught with bloodshed in its execution.

In pacific and industrious Scotland a movement had also developed itself, which, although of a purely ecclesiastical character, was destined to play an important part in the political state of that country, and which may, perhaps, not be without influence even on the future condition of England herself. We allude to the separation of the Secessionists from the Established Church in Scotland. It need scarcely be mentioned that the presbyterian church is in Scotland what the high church is in England. The union of that church with the State had deprived her of many of her rights, and more particularly of the right previously enjoyed by the congregation,

of electing their own officiating clergy. A dispute about that privilege having thus arisen between the State and the Scotch Synod, the year 1843 was destined to witness the separation of the parties so completely, that by the side of the established church another party division was formed under the name of the *Free Non-intrusion Church*.

These gloomy prospects were still more darkened by the commercial crisis which manifested itself at the beginning of the year, principally in the manufacturing districts, and which lessened to some extent the usual amount of public revenue. But for the happy turn of arms in the East, and the full confidence of the nation in the power of Sir Robert Peel to avert the impending calamities, his Cabinet must have succumbed under the heavy pressure of dangers at home and abroad. As it was, however, he felt himself strong enough to declare, to the surprise of all, at the very first sitting of Parliament, which opened on the 2nd of February, 1843, that he had no intention of proposing any alterations in the internal or external legislation of the country during that session; neither did he take any active part in the heated personal and virulent

debates that ensued between Cobden and the Protectionists.

In the meanwhile the League agitation increased to an enormous extent, and as far as influence went it was only exceeded, if at all, by that of the Irish repeal, though in indefatigable activity they were well balanced.

The session thus passed away in almost idle talk and bitter invectives, and in some measure in the long and serious discussions in both Houses concerning the proclamation of the Governor-General of the East Indies, Lord Ellenborough, respecting the gates of the temple of Somnauth, which some fanatical members considered as an encouragement to Paganism. Neither was this religious fanaticism less manifest in the plans of national education, which Lord Ashley wanted to confide to the High Church clergy, though the bill, which found many supporters, miscarried in both Houses.

Let us return to the Irish affairs. At the beginning of this year the agitations in Ireland had assumed such a formidable character, that the Government was obliged to bring in a bill on the use of firearms in that country, which, in spite of the

opposition of the Irish members, passed both Houses. Indeed, the banner of *moral force*, which O'Connell had unfurled, was about to give way to physical force by the impetuosity of the masses. It is impossible to say whether O'Connell did not from the first speculate upon physical display to intimidate Parliament into concessions; but, if such were really the case, it was passing strange to see thousands of people, who, at the mere call of that arch agitator, flocked together from all parts of Ireland to listen to speeches calculated to inflame their hearts and minds—it was passing strange to see them, at the breaking up of those monster meetings, return home in peace and order more like well-disciplined troops than a multitude bent upon practical mischief. It would appear that O'Connell's intention was to organise the country into a sort of military *landwehr*. Whether he actually promised himself a direct result from these demonstrations, or used them merely as a vehicle for more indirect purposes, who can decide with a man placed as he was in such peculiar circumstances? Could a man of his penetration have been really in earnest when he said, at one of these monster meetings, that the Queen need only avail herself of her

prerogative to give to Ireland a Parliament of her own, and thus settle the whole business at once? Could a man of his sagacity and experience really have thought such a thing feasible in the present age? Or was he, with all his craft and cunning, not free himself from fanatical chimeras?

The Government had already, in 1843, increased the number of troops in Ireland, and removed all the justices of the peace who had taken part in the agitation. O'Connell announced, with unusual parade, that a general meeting would be held on the 8th of October, at Clontarf near Dublin. On the 7th the Government issued a proclamation against the meeting being held, in consequence of which O'Connell postponed it. The military, however, were stationed on the spot on the succeeding day, to keep in order the vast assemblage of people, who, being misinformed, flocked to the place. Six days afterwards, O'Connell, together with his influential adherents, were arrested and accused of high treason. The details of the law suit do not belong to our history, and we will only observe that, notwithstanding all the subtle means employed to prolong the case, he was found guilty and condemned, but was soon after

released by the House of Lords, on account of some technical informalities in the proceedings. This single blow seems to have at once put a stop to the whole agitation. O'Connell's power was destroyed, his energies paralysed, and those who afterwards followed in his footsteps were but mere caricatures of the great agitator, and have only given the *coup de grace* to the Repeal agitation.

Long before the final conclusion of O'Connell's case, prolix debates on the Irish affairs had taken place in both Houses, in which the Irish members and even O'Connell himself took part. A spirit of mildness, if not of conciliation, now pervaded the tenor of the debates; there was no cry of triumph on the part of the Ministers, nor of revenge on the part of the Irish members, and O'Connell spoke only of reconciliation between kindred nations. The Government met him half way, and measures were proposed to extend the elective franchise and reform the administration of the charitable institutions in Ireland, to appoint henceforth officers from both sects of the community instead of, as hitherto, only from the Protestant. Another measure was to abolish a number of penal laws against the Irish

Catholics, which, though they were no longer of practical effect, were at least theoretically existing amongst the laws of the land.

The important and comprehensive measure of the Peel Cabinet, in the session of 1844, was the reform of the Banking system. The charter of the Bank of England requiring a renewal that year, Sir Robert took the opportunity of giving it a new aspect. As early as 1819 he had carried a measure against the excessive issue of paper money, and he now completed the system by the introduction of a new law. The basis of the new plan was a fixed proportion between the issue of paper and the funds in hand ; he declared that experience had shown that there was no guarantee against the excessive circulation of the paper currency, in the mere possibility of exchanging it for silver. He therefore proposed to divide the bank into two separate departments,—one for the issue of bank notes, and the other for the general business ; and also, that each should publish a weekly summary of its transactions. This plan, which after much opposition became law, notwithstanding all the predictions as to its fatal results in time of a commercial crisis, has proved beneficial to the country at

large, simply because an assimilation was thereby created between the money transactions of the State and those of a private merchant.

Also the sugar bill, which raised the duty on sugar of slave labour on the one hand, and lowered that of free labour from our colonies on the other, was of considerable influence on the position of the respective parties in the House. Lord John Russell had so far advanced in Free Trade views, that he himself did not hesitate to move for the admission of slave-labour sugar at the same rates as free-labour sugar, in apparent contradiction to the great measure of the Melbourne Cabinet, as well as to the great horror of the pious folk of Great Britain, while this half measure of Sir Robert Peel's was generally viewed as a step taken towards Free Trade.

During the session, the opening of some private letters by the postmaster general at the instruction of Sir James Graham, caused great excitement in the country, and though it led to no particular result in Parliament, it being founded on some old laws authorising in particular cases such violation of letter-secrets, it practically put a stop to any further attempt of the kind.

Thus the year 1844 was one of progress and pacific development, although the country had been violently agitated at home, and menaced by hostile attitudes abroad. The dispute with France, relating to the occupation of some of the South-Sea Islands, was satisfactorily settled by Lord Aberdeen, and the friendly relations between the two courts were strengthened by the personal visits which the Sovereigns interchanged in the course of the year. The Emperor of Russia also made an unexpected visit to England, which remained without any political result, though he may have had some political motive (the division of Turkey) in view. New and more important steps of reform in the customs and financial departments were eagerly looked for in the coming session of 1845, and with them also a remedy for the evils in Ireland.

CHAP. IX.

THE MAYNOOTH BILL, AND PEEL'S REFORM OF THE CUSTOMS
TARIFF IN THE SESSION OF 1845.

THE year 1845 opened under the most favourable auspices: an abundant harvest, a return of public confidence, and the beneficial results of the new customs measures to trade and commerce. These, on the other hand, had stimulated the most gigantic enterprises in railways, which afterwards led to great catastrophes. Parliament was opened on the 4th of February, and the Address from the Throne contained two points of considerable importance—the renewal of the income tax, and the provision of more ample means for academical education in Ireland. Public opinion, however, had found means of guessing the proposal of the latter measure, before the opening of Parliament, by the withdrawal of Mr. Gladstone

from the Cabinet, a man who was well known to be in favour of high church principles, if not even Puseyism. He afterwards admitted in the House that he was compelled to the step by the resolve of the Ministers to move for a more extended grant for the support of the Maynooth College. This was the only Catholic institution that received support from the State. It was founded in 1795 by the Irish Parliament, for the purpose of providing the Irish church with native priests, instead of importing them as heretofore from abroad. But the means allowed were too slender for the accomplishment of the object, and vastly contrasted with the luxurious wealth of the English universities. The Irish grant was, moreover, subject to an annual vote of renewal, which furnished ample scope for attacks on the Irish Catholics.

On the 5th April, Sir Robert Peel introduced the Maynooth bill, by which an annual grant was provided for that college. The excitement caused by the introduction of this measure almost passes description; high churchmen and dissenters, more especially the Wesleyans, one and all raised the cry of alarm at the wickedness of the Ministers.

The dissenters had now forgotten the hardships that they had themselves endured from the established church, and Sir Robert Peel, who, so long as he acted in the Opposition, had never hesitated to make bigotry the organ of his purposes, may here have witnessed the fruit of his own example of fanning instead of stifling fanaticism for party purposes. Macaulay was not wrong, therefore, when he afterwards said, in supporting the measure, "Neither can I say that the right hon. Baronet does not deserve reproach from those who, despite bitter experience, have raised him to power for the second time to be for the second time again deceived in him—nor can I deny that it has always been the way of the right hon. Baronet to avail himself as leader of the Opposition of passions for which he has no sympathy, or of prejudices for which he entertained the profoundest contempt." At Exeter Hall a sort of national assembly was convoked, and the public press, with a few exceptions, teemed with articles on "No popery," whilst a deluge of petitions, signed by more than three millions of the population, were prepared for presentation to Parliament.

It may appear strange that the dissenters, who had

themselves smarted under political and civil disabilities, should have joined in opposing the public grant, but we must not forget that apart from hostile feeling against the Catholic religion generally—a feeling that seems to be innate in all true Protestants—there was a great number who deprecated public or State support of any church whatever,—who were advocating the voluntary system as a general principle in church affairs, and were continually referring to that system which is also adopted by the people in the United States, in whom nobody can deny a true and orthodox sense of religion. There was also another party who preferred drawing the proposed grant from the vast revenues of the established church, instead of from the public exchequer.

By the bill introduced by Sir Robert Peel, a sum of £30,000 was asked for the erection of a building, as also an annual grant of £26,360 for the support of the college. It was at once opposed by the high Tory party, headed by Sir Robert H. Inglis, the representative of the University of Oxford. On the other hand, the Whigs and the greatest number of the Radicals were for the bill, and even Gladstone had now found reasons in his capacity as a single

member of the House to give his support to the bill. It was at last carried in the lower House by 317 against 184 votes, and in the upper House by 181 against 50; although some of the bishops insisted upon a previous investigation as to the doctrines taught at Maynooth, to ascertain whether they were not identical with those of the Jesuits and with others propagated by the church of Rome against the legitimate principles of the English monarchy.

Side by side with this bill was another, introduced by Sir James Graham, to establish three seminaries in different parts of Ireland (the south, west, and north). In these schools, to which the youth of all sects were to have free access, no theology, but exclusively useful and practical knowledge was to be taught. "Never," exclaimed Sir Robert Inglis, "was there heard before, such a gigantic system of ungodly education in any country of Europe." It is true that the exclusion of religious education was objected to by the two extreme parties, the orthodox Protestants on the one hand, and the Catholics on the other, both parties wishing to introduce religious instruction agreeable to their respective creeds. The bill passed, nevertheless, both Houses in its original form, after

lengthy discussions and various attempts at amendments.

We have dwelt at some length upon this subject, because it forms an important section in the new relation between England and Ireland, as well as in the relative position of the parties in Parliament. With the comprehensive support then granted to Catholic Ireland, England renounced her last claim to an established church in that island, and she thereby ceased to be a *Protestant country* in effect and character. The high Tory party found in this bill an additional cause to suspect the intentions and even to oppose the measures of the man whom they had not only chosen for their leader, but had also raised to one of the highest powers in the State. He was the Saturn of mythology who swallowed his own offspring.

We now return to the great material questions by which Peel's Administration was particularly characterised. Already on the 14th February, immediately after the opening of Parliament, Peel laid before the House his budget and financial schemes for the year. In consequence of the operation of the income tax, there was an excess of revenue over expenditure

by about three millions and a half, and he anticipated a still larger excess at the close of the year; but the increased expenses of the army and navy, and the measures for the reduction of the Customs Tariff, rendered it necessary to prolong the Income Tax for another term of three years. Beside the reductions in the sugar duty, (an article, by the bye, on which experiments were made from year to year,) he proposed to simplify the tariff, by admitting 430 articles, mostly raw materials, free of duty, out of the 813 contained in the tariff, and to abolish moreover the duty on all exports, as also the excise duty on glass.

He calculated the loss on sugar at	£1,300,000
On other articles	1,000,000
On Exports	120,000
Glass duty	642,000
	<hr/> £3,062,000

or three millions in round numbers, a sum that would nearly absorb or balance the surplus of revenue for the coming year.

Of all these proposals none met with more opposition than the renewal of the Income Tax. This tax having been originally introduced in time of war, was viewed by the people as a *war tax*, and one which

ought not to be imposed in time of peace, and it was only owing to the critical state of the finances that Parliament and the people consented to the burden in 1842 to last for three years (till 1845). No sooner, therefore, had Sir Robert proposed its renewal, than the rumour spread, that it was meant to be permanent. Neither were the proposed reductions in the tariff calculated to give complete satisfaction to either party. The *landed interest* considered them as a boon intended for the manufacturers, whilst the free traders thought them far too short of what they expected. The Whigs and Radicals, however, again supported the Minister, and enabled him to carry his measures through both Houses.

Whilst Peel was thus advancing on the way he had paved for the establishment of a new system in commerce and finance, the leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League daily grew stronger in their determinations and labours to eradicate the corn monopoly by any means in their power. The extent of their power and influence, as well as the means at their disposal at that time, borders almost on the fictitious. Hundreds of thousands of pounds were in their exchequer, by means of which they put in motion the Press and

other moral organs. New periodicals were established, pamphlets in countless numbers distributed throughout the country, and open air meetings held two or three times a week. Neither were the leaders remiss in working upon the minds of the farmers themselves, showing them by force of reasoning the injurious effects of the Corn Laws upon their own interests. Missionaries in the guise of lecturers on political economy were sent about to preach and enlighten the masses on the scientific principles of Free Trade.

Another contrivance consisted in the purchase of houses and land, the payment of taxes on which entitled the owners to the elective right. By these moral and physical means the 'League had grown to a power of vast influence, not only on the public mind but also on the public press and public journals, which one after another became converts to the principle. It was in Parliament alone that the majority still adhered to the Corn Laws; neither was there much prospect of converting that majority, as interest and prejudice went hand in hand in favour of these laws, though it cannot be denied that Villiers' annual motion had by this time increased the minority for

the abolition of the Corn Laws to 122 (against 254), while Cobden's motion for the appointment of a committee on the subject had likewise increased the minority to 121 (against 213), and it was clear, therefore, that the principle had gained ground in the House, though not to that extent as to command a majority. Indeed, the results of Peel's measures could not fail to gain adherents to the cause of Free trade, trade and commerce, as well as the finances of the country, having assumed a more promising and secure aspect ever since the adoption of these liberal measures, notwithstanding the recency of their date.

By way of contrast, we here mention the fate of another of O'Connell's agitations. O'Connell still held large Repeal meetings, but neither he nor his audience possessed the self-confidence of former times, and although he exhausted himself in violent *diatribes* against the "*wicked*" *College* bill, and still announced the Repeal as a fast approaching event, it was evident that his party, once so strong and daring, was now in the last days of its existence, and that its enfeebled actions were but the flickerings of an expiring flame.

Among the measures of minor import, but which

are nevertheless indicative of the progress of Liberalism generally, we may notice the bill introduced by Peel for enabling the Jews to hold *civic* functions, though, as may be supposed, it met with various difficulties in its progress.

The Parliament was prorogued on the 9th of August by the Queen in person, who immediately afterwards proceeded on a tour to France and Germany.

CHAP. X.

THE CABINET CRISIS AT THE CLOSE OF 1845.

IN the autumn of 1845 it was ascertained beyond all doubt that the principal food of the working classes, especially in Ireland, had been totally destroyed by disease, and that the country was in consequence about to be visited by a famine of the worst character. This gave a fresh impulse to the League agitation, whose leaders saw in the event a providential summons for the total repeal of the Corn Laws. The Ministers, and more especially Sir R. Peel, could not conceal from themselves the dangers of the moment. Having possessed himself of all the information regarding the state of the harvest, the existing stocks on hand, and the prospects of import from abroad, he was enabled to lay before his colleagues convincing proofs of the necessity of taking

immediate steps for the repeal of the Corn Laws. There were two ways before them of accomplishing the act : either to do it at once on their own responsibility, in the hope of afterwards obtaining an act of indemnity from Parliament, or to convoke the latter immediately to decide on the question. Peel was in favour of the latter step, but the majority of the Cabinet could not come to an understanding. After frequent meetings, they resolved to appoint a commission to inquire into and report upon the state of the corn market.

Whilst the Cabinet was thus losing time in deliberations, an impulse from without decided Sir R. Peel to take his resolution without further delay. Lord John Russell, who naturally watched the steps of the Ministers with considerable anxiety, if not jealousy, was probably not ignorant of the split in the Cabinet on the question at issue. Although previously inclined to a fixed duty, he now issued a circular letter to his party and to the nation at large, in which he stated the necessity of convoking Parliament without delay, and urging them for the total repeal of the corn duties. The letter appeared in the public journals, and was dated the 22nd of November; it was

followed by others of a like nature from different Whig notabilities, and at once determined the Premier to demand from his colleagues consent, under the existing circumstances, for the immediate opening of all ports in the kingdom for the free admission of foreign corn. Being met, however, with great resistance in the Cabinet, particularly from Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby), rumours circulated in the public journals (in the *Times* as early as the 4th of December) that Sir R. Peel had tendered his resignation. On the 10th of December it was ascertained to be a fact. It seemed strange and incredible, that a Ministry which enjoyed the fullest confidence of the House and the country, which grew more powerful every day, both at home and abroad, by the brilliant effects of its sound and vigorous measures, should at once become so weak as to find it expedient to tender its resignation, simply because the potato crop of the country was unpromising and diseased. No wonder, that far different and more weighty causes were at that time ascribed to such a catastrophe by the political wiseacres of the day; while in point of fact it plainly showed the shallow basis on which the whole Corn-Law system had rested,

since a bad potato crop sufficed to compel the head supporter of that rotten system to resign office, notwithstanding the power he had exercised with so much tact and success in all other respects.

The task of forming a new Cabinet could fall on no one else but Lord John Russell, who, though but little inclined at first to undertake it, as instructed by the Queen, afterwards consented to do so on receiving the solemn promise of Sir R. Peel to support him in Parliament as regarded the corn question. As, however, the promised support was strictly confined to the abolition of the Corn Laws, Lord John Russell, on second consideration, relinquished the task, aware that he could not reckon on a working majority in the House on other questions apart from the Corn Laws. Sir R. Peel was thereupon again summoned by the Queen to resume office, which he did, after having persuaded his colleagues to consent to the repeal. Lord Stanley was the only one who resisted, and, having in consequence resigned, his place was filled by Gladstone, who now re-entered the Cabinet under different prospects.

It is not necessary to describe the boundless rage and passion of the old nobility and the Tories *par*

excellence against Sir R. Peel. When the Whig journals first announced the strange intentions of the Cabinet, the Tory organs treated the report as an abominable *tissue of lies*; but no sooner did the rumour prove to be true, than a general assault was made on Peel by the whole Tory press. Not only in the daily journals, but also in pamphlets and at numerous meetings, epithets were applied to him, too exaggerated, at least as to Peel's motives, to be repeated here. Neither were they remiss in threats of punishing the political deserter, although they felt that their party was then too weak and disorganised to think of forming a new Cabinet of their own, should they even succeed in displacing the existing one. The leadership of the Protection party now fell upon Lord George Bentinck, a man whose talents on the turf nobody would dispute, but who was then required to show that his Parliamentary powers were equal to the task he had undertaken.

A considerable number of the old Tory party, however, remained true to Peel. They were so convinced of the correctness of his views and motives, of which he had given ample proof since 1840, that they still clung to him, though perhaps against their

own inclinations. They were, moreover, fully aware that the fall of Peel would be followed by the old confusion and embarrassments in and out of the country; and they therefore declared that the question was an open one, and had nothing whatever to do with party principles and spirit.

That Sir Robert found support in the old Whig party need hardly be mentioned. They triumphantly exclaimed that the very principles which had hastened the fall of their own Ministry in 1841 were being adopted by the man who had caused its fall, though it was clear that, but for the fear of being reproached with inconsistency, they would not have hesitated to join the Opposition and have revenge in their turn. But it was the League that celebrated the most complete victory. With the adoption of their principles, their task, aim, and object were achieved. It is true, Cobden seemed rather dissatisfied with the incompleteness of the measure, but he had reason to rejoice at heart at the good tidings. The sympathies of the nation at large were in harmony with those of Parliament. The majority in the rural and agricultural districts were against Peel, whilst those in the larger commercial towns were for him; what he lost on the

one hand in political connection was more than compensated by the support he received from public opinion, while Cobden employed all his influence in favour of the measures, and even threatened the renitent Lords with a democratic propaganda.

CHAP. XI.

THE PASSING OF THE CORN BILL AND RESIGNATION OF THE
PEEL CABINET IN JUNE, 1846.

PARLIAMENT was opened, somewhat earlier than usual, on the 19th of January. Immediately after the Address from the Throne, in which suitable liberal measures were recommended in the commercial policy, explanatory speeches were made by Peel and Russell, which were followed by skirmishing attacks from the Tory benches. On the 27th of January, Sir Robert explained his new propositions to a crowded House. Having admitted that his principles were for Free Trade, he declared that he wished to extend them to all branches of commerce. Provisions of all kinds he proposed should be admitted free of duty ; corn should be subject to a low sliding scale for the next three years, and afterwards admitted

at a nominal duty of one shilling per quarter. The farmers were, in return, to be released from some of their heavy taxes ; among these were the exemption from supporting the native poor who had absented themselves from their homes for a period of five years. He also proposed that power should be conceded to Government to grant loans for the improvement of native agriculture.

On manufactures he proposed to lower the import duties by one half, with the exception of coarse articles of wool, linen, and cotton, which he thought might be admitted free. He made, he concluded, these propositions without any hope or prospect of meeting with immediate reciprocity by foreign countries, but he was sure that the more illiberal foreign tariffs might remain, the more would England's industry rise in profit and extent, and by degrees induce also foreign Governments to adopt the sound principles of this nation.

The first discussion on these propositions lasted twelve evenings ; 103 members (48 for and 55 against) took share in the debates, the nucleus of which, as may be supposed, formed the corn question. Peculiar stress was laid by the opponents on the inconsistency

of Sir Robert Peel. Long passages were quoted from his former speeches, which were in contradiction with his present views and arguments; but Peel, as well as Graham, at once blunted the edge of the attack by freely admitting their previous errors, and their present readiness to make amends for the past. The result of the protracted struggle was, that on a division the first reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 337 against 240 votes. The bill was then brought before a committee of the whole House. On the 2nd March, Villiers' amendment for the immediate and total abolition of the Corn Laws was negatived by 265 against 78 votes. Other amendments met with the same fate, and the debates on the second reading of the bill were resumed on the 20th March. Lord G. Bentinck, though the leader of the Protection party, and very shrewd in statistical calculations, was far from being a fluent speaker, or even a close reasoner. The deficiency in that respect was made up by his political lieutenant, D'Israeli, who, having a personal grudge against Peel, apparently for having refused him an appointment under Government, now turned against him all the bitter invectives and sarcasms that personal hatred and vindictiveness could

dictate. Peel, however, defended himself with all the energy of a man who was guided in his motives solely by the welfare of his country. "Let it not be presumed," said he, "that there was no need for such measures against the Irish famine. It is a mistake. Time will teach that these measures were not unnecessary. But suppose even they were so, it is my duty to guard a whole nation against the possible consequences of a famine and pestilence, and under these circumstances the accusation does not touch me. Should I fall, I shall have the satisfaction to think that I did not fall for having acted in a party spirit,—for having preferred party interests to the common interests of the country. I shall, on the contrary, take with me the satisfaction that during my administration I have done all that tends to promote the welfare of England."

It is superfluous to enter into the details of the great parliamentary battle ; suffice it to say that in the progress of the debates, the Protection party were driven from position to position, though they availed themselves of every parliamentary latitude and formality to delay, if not frustrate, the passing of the bill. At one moment there seemed a probability of

their forming a coalition with the Irish brigade, who were greatly opposed to the coercive bill which the Government had introduced against Ireland, but as the measure was founded on urgent necessity, the parties could not come to an understanding, and the Corn Bill was at last read the third time on the 16th May, at four o'clock in the morning, and transferred to the House of Lords.

The Tariff Bill met with much less opposition, which, being simply a continuation of the former bill on the question of commercial policy, passed the lower House on the 19th of May.

In the upper House the Corn Bill was introduced on the 18th of May for the first reading by the Duke of Wellington, and the second reading was fixed for the 25th by the Earl of Ripon, the same who (by a singular coincidence), when Mr. Robinson, had introduced the Corn Bill in the lower House in 1815. As the bill more particularly affected the private interests of the Lords, (their rental from the produce of the soil amounting to sixty millions sterling,) it may easily be imagined that the excitement produced there was even greater than in the lower House, and it is doubtful whether the bill would have passed the

Lords, had not the Duke of Wellington reminded them in plain terms that the upper House cannot maintain its ground in opposition to the other two branches of the Legislature, who had already declared themselves in favour of the bill. Both bills, the Corn and Tariff, were at last consented to without any alterations.

Peel thus accomplished what no other Minister in England could have succeeded in doing. Notwithstanding the vast obstacles thrown in his way, and the deep-rooted traditional prejudices he had to overcome, he finally succeeded in introducing measures calculated to raise and give a new direction to the industrial and commercial powers of the State. But with the passing of these two important bills his own independent power was exhausted, and his strength in the remaining measures of the session became a mere matter of party support and combination. His position was perfectly isolated. He had left his own party without attaching himself to any other. He was still a Conservative without having the confidence of the Conservative party, and he had passed Whig measures without belonging to the Whig party, who were seeking to regain power, which they now

thought no difficult matter considering the dissensions in the Tory camp, where nearly the whole phalanx was thirsting for revenge against the traitor Peel, and besides even loudly announced their preference of an open enemy, a Whig Government, to a treacherous friend, a questionable Tory Administration. Some hesitation, however, still existed amongst the free traders, who considered that Peel alone had the energy of carrying liberal measures far beyond the power or even the will of the Whig Government; but, having obtained the principal items of their claims, they were rather indifferent as to the future Government of the country, aware that without Peel the Protection party at least was too much broken ever again to aspire to power.

In the Address from the Throne, at the opening of the session, Parliament was recommended to concert measures for the protection of life and property in Ireland. The sinking political agitation in that unhappy island had called forth a conspiracy amongst the peasantry, threatening death to the hard landlords and destruction to their lands. In the latter part of 1845 these combinations, and their fatal results, had increased to an alarming extent. The coercive bill,

framed after the model of many previous ones, having been introduced in the upper House, passed in regular form. On its re-introduction into the lower House it met with unexpected obstacles. At the first reading O'Connell and his party opposed it as unconstitutional and even uncalled for, the more especially as the Ministers had delayed its introduction for five months, by which they clearly showed that neither was the state of Ireland so bad as to require extraordinary measures, nor the Ministers in earnest as to the bill coming in force. There was indeed some truth in the argument, and more especially in the feeling abroad, that, having carried his principal measures, and conscious of the isolation of his position, Peel was anxious to bring his Government to an end, and that he had chosen the Irish bill as the most suitable instrument of political suicide. After long debates, the bill was lost at the second reading by a majority of 73 (292 against 219), on the 25th of June, 1846, on the very same evening that the Corn Bill finally passed the upper House, and on the same day that the news arrived of the successful solution of the Oregon question in North America.

On the 29th June, Sir Robert announced his

resignation to the House, declaring that it was not to the interest of the country that the Ministers should continue in office after they were unable to carry their measures. He dwelt with some pride on the success of his administration since 1841, and paid a high compliment to Cobden's *unadorned eloquence*, to which he chiefly attributed his conversion to a liberal policy as regarded the repeal of the Corn Laws. "I know," he concluded, "that my name will be held in abhorrence by all monopolists ; but it will, on the other hand, be remembered with kind sympathies by all those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, whenever they recruit their exhausted bodies by cheap and wholesome food."

CHAP. XII.

THE NEW WHIG CABINET UNDER LORD JOHN RUSSELL, AND
THE SOLUTION OF THE SUGAR QUESTION.

THE fall of the Peel Cabinet again brought the Whigs into power. The extraordinary circumstances under which these changes took place are certainly unparalleled in parliamentary history. A Ministry resigned after having achieved the most brilliant victories, simply because they failed to carry a measure of secondary importance. It was replaced by one possessing less popularity and energy, and less confidence of Parliament. Sir Robert had, it is true, smoothed the way for a Whig Government, and removed the principal barriers that separated the two parties; but as the opposing party consisted of various heterogeneous elements, the composition of a new Cabinet could but be imperfect, and little in

unison with the views of the ultra sections who supported the Whigs when sitting on the Opposition benches. The new Ministry was thoroughly Whig in character, and even more aristocratic in its composition than the ex-Tory one. Its leader was Lord John Russell; Lord Lansdowne was President of the Council; Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary; Sir George Grey, Home Secretary; Lord Grey, Colonial Secretary; and Lord Minto, Keeper of the Great Seal: the principal places being thus occupied by thorough Whigs of the old Aristocracy. Lord Palmerston—even at that time the *bête noire* of continental diplomatists, and of the French Government in particular, which had every reason to regret the change in that department—it was feared would not approve of the concessions which Lord Aberdeen had made, both in the Slave and Otaheite questions, for the sake of the *entente cordiale* with France. The other members of the new Cabinet had also served under a Whig Ministry. Sir Charles Wood became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Macaulay, the Treasurer of the Navy; Lord Morpeth, President of Public Works; Sir J. C. Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control; and Labouchère, President of the Board of Trade. Lord

John Russell had tried, but without success, to enlist in his Cabinet three influential members who had served under Peel—Lord Dalhousie, Lord Lincoln (now Duke of Newcastle), and W. S. Herbert. The Duke of Wellington, however, was induced to retain his office as Commander-in-Chief. Complaints were made that no representative of Free Trade had a seat in the new Government; though it was subsequently rumoured that a place had been offered to Cobden, who had declined accepting it on the plea of ill health—a fact that gained some weight from his soon afterwards proceeding on a tour on the Continent.

It cannot be said that much was expected from the new Government by any party. The Protectionists saw in it an open enemy, and the Radicals a very doubtful friend. In an unguarded moment, Lord John Russell had, at an earlier period, designated the Reform Bill as the “corner stone of political reform in England”—a phrase that was now constantly cast in his teeth. The aristocratic liberalism of the Whigs but little harmonised with the ultra views of men like Duncombe, Wakley, Bright, and others, nor even with the notions of the real Tory party, who considered that the landed interest was also insufficiently

represented, whilst the commercial and industrial classes entertained very little confidence in a Whig Ministry, which never knew how to balance revenue with expenditure. All parties, however, promised to give the new Cabinet fair play, and allow the Ministers to develop their views and intentions, whilst Sir Robert Peel promised his support in all measures calculated to promote the public welfare generally.

The foreign relations of the country possessed at that time a more peaceable aspect than the domestic. Sir R. Peel had already announced the satisfactory settlement of the protracted Oregon question before his resignation, whilst the victories gained in the East by the British army had again restored the safety of our Indian possessions. Good understanding still prevailed with France; and it was with Brazil alone that difficulties, relative to the slave trade, could not be surmounted. And though the home relations were not much disturbed by political causes, indications of a coming bad harvest once more cast gloomy shadows on the minds of the people, more especially in Ireland, where the Repeal agitation still existed, though to a much less degree than formerly. O'Connell's partiality for the Whigs was

rekindled with their accession to power, and he became now as distinguished for his modesty and moderation as he had previously been for his presumption and impetuosity. *Young Ireland*, however, grew dissatisfied with a leader who talked of moral instead of physical force, who wanted to persuade instead of compel England to concessions, and the young party at once enlisted under the leadership of Smith O'Brien, who rendered himself so ridiculous during that session as to foreshadow his future lot in the succeeding one.

One of the most important topics that awaited a final solution was the Sugar question. We have already mentioned that this question was replete with difficulties of various kinds. Some people were for the establishment of a differential duty in favour of the West India planters, others insisted on the absolute exclusion of Slave-labour sugar, whilst the Free Traders claimed an equal rate of duty for both—independent of Free-trade principles. They argued, that the West India planters had already received ample indemnification for the emancipation of their slaves; and as to the religious principle involved in the admission of Slave sugar, if adopted, they said

it ought to be extended to Slave productions generally,—cotton not even excepted. Sir R. Peel seemed inclined to side with those who advocated the absolute prohibition of Slave sugar ; he did so less on religious than political grounds ; he merely advocated the interests of our colonies. Lord J. Russell laid his plan on the subject before the House on the 20th of July, by which the duty on Sugar generally, was to be gradually lowered for five consecutive years. Many objections were, of course, taken by the different parties, and more especially by Lord G. Bentinck, on the part of the Protectionists. The bill, however, passed the House after much struggle, in which Sir R. Peel took considerable share, and declared that, perceiving the violent state of party spirit, he believed it his duty to support the Government, although he did not agree with the principle involved in the bill. The Ministers thus succeeded in carrying their first measure.

CHAP. XIII.

THE FAMINE IN IRELAND, AND PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT
TILL ITS DISSOLUTION IN 1847.

WHAT was to become of Ireland? Political and agrarian agitations alternately ruffled the peace and impeded the prosperity of that unhappy country; for no sooner had the political agitation somewhat abated than the latter broke out with alarming violence. In many parts of Ireland there was no safety, either for person or property, and the evil was still further increased by the calamity of a famine. No efficient remedy could be devised for a country, the people of which did scarcely anything for their own material welfare by way of perseverance or industry. In the preceding year a vast number of agricultural labourers, who usually came to England at the harvest season for employment, remained at home, preferring, to the

earnings of their own industry in England, the reception of alms from the Government, which then offered support to the Irish poor. On the Government now devolved the task, not only of devising measures for the security of person and property, but also of providing food for millions of people in Ireland, who were again about to be visited by all the miseries attending famine and pestilence. It appeared improbable that the present Government would venture to propose a coercive measure, which had been the means of destroying the previous ; yet, to the surprise of all, Labouchère stated to the House, on the 7th of August, the intention of the Government to move for a provisional renewal of the Irish *Arms* Bill, by which, possession of fire-arms in Ireland was only allowed under certain limitations. Lord J. Russell, however, announced afterwards the determination of the Government to leave out the most objectionable clauses in the bill, and the second reading was carried by 56 against 23 votes ; but, on the 17th of August, he suddenly declared that, in consequence of the opposition the bill had met with, and the absence of the important clauses, the vital elements of the bill, the Government thought fit to

withdraw it for the present. This announcement was certainly not calculated to raise the firm character of the Ministry in public opinion. Thus no steps whatever were taken to restore public order in Ireland, though something was done to meet the evils of famine.

A motion was brought in, and carried, by which the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was authorized to advance money in every county for the purpose of making roads and erecting public buildings, in order to give employment to the distressed masses. This measure, however, did not in the least degree meet the exigencies of the case, and consequently remained without producing any benefit or effecting its purpose.

The session closed on the 28th of August, 1846, and it certainly was one of the most important in the modern history of England.

In the course of the summer, there was reason to fear that the potato disease had reappeared in the young crop, and to a greater extent even, than in the previous season, and consequently that suffering Ireland was again on the verge of a complete famine. But even imagination fell far short of the horrible reality. Where misery reigned in the preceding year,

now was absolute want; where there was before, scarcity, there was now actual famine, with its inevitable attendants—pestilential and other contagious diseases. Suffering was still further increased by the sad state of agriculture in that country, by the insufficient means of communication, by poverty and desolation, which had for a long time prevailed there; and partly also by the want of economical care and providence on the part of the inhabitants themselves. With the increased misery, the crimes against person and property also multiplied, whilst the political agitators of *physical force* endeavoured to turn these very calamities to account, to promote their own plans. The extent to which aid had been accorded by Parliament in the preceding year, and the manner in which it was distributed, were not calculated to meet the evil in an efficient way; nay, owing to a fatal peculiarity in the Irish character, that succour even tended to increase instead of diminishing the evil. No sooner had the Government announced employment in the public works, than a great number of Irish labourers violated their private engagements and sought in the new works employment, causing thereby not only an increased cost to

the Government, but also a vast loss to the landowners, who were thus deprived of the necessary number of hands for agricultural purposes. It appears that not only the common labourers, but in some cases even the small farmers themselves preferred being employed in the public works to cultivating their own lands. At the beginning of the year there were about 500,000 Irish poor employed on the public roads, at a cost of elevenpence a day, amounting to about eight millions and a half sterling a year. The number of applicants having vastly exceeded the demand, the Government resolved to lend a part of the grant on security to private landowners, to enable them to employ some of the idle hands. Common misfortune brought about a reconciliation—which in better times seemed an impossibility—between the Irish members of all colours in both Houses, and they united their efforts with those of other Irish landowners in assisting the Government to carry out the best means for averting the evil as much as possible.

To convoke Parliament without delay, became a matter of urgent necessity, in order that comprehensive measures might be taken against the evils of a

scarcity, which were also manifesting themselves in England and Scotland. Parliament was accordingly opened on the 19th of January, 1847; and, on the 21st of that month, Lord J. Russell submitted the intentions of the Government with respect to the bad state of the harvest. He proposed, in the first place, a total suspension of the Corn and Navigation Laws till the 1st of September, 1847—a measure that was at once acceded to by the House. On the 25th of January he brought forward a series of resolutions for immediate relief in Ireland, as also for a steady improvement in her condition. To that effect, he proposed that charitable committees should be established in every elective district in Ireland, for the purchase of food and its distribution amongst the needy poor. The necessary funds were to be raised, partly from the public exchequer and partly by private subscription. By another resolution, the Government proposed to allow the loan, advanced to the landowners in the previous year, to stand over for the space of twenty-two years, during which time the half of the amount was to be repaid by instalments. In addition to the old loan, a fresh one, to the amount of £50,000, was to be advanced to them until December, 1847, for the pur-

chase of seed; as also another £1,000,000, for the improvement and cultivation of waste lands; in which latter case, if the owners refused the terms, the Government was to be entitled to buy up the lands for a certain price. The Irish Poor Laws were also to be modified, and out-door relief introduced in the Unions. By another resolution, the Government provided for facilitating the disposal of overburdened estates. All these proposals were assented to, although several members, and particularly Sir R. Peel, doubted the efficacy of some of them; whilst the ultra-Irish party, represented by Smith O'Brien, laid the misery and famine of Ireland at the door of the Union, and were loud in their demands for more extensive relief.

An incident of a peculiar character roused the parliamentary interest for the affairs of Ireland to a considerable degree. At the beginning of the session, Lord G. Bentinck had submitted to Parliament a comprehensive plan in favour of Ireland, in opposition to that introduced by the Government. He wanted the Government to advance fifteen millions sterling for the construction of railroads in that country, by which means not only 100,000 poor would find employment, but also the foundation for

the future prosperity of Ireland might be laid. Two sections of Parliament approved of the plan—the railway contractors, with Mr. G. Hudson at their head (who probably suggested the scheme to the noble lord), and the Irish party, who generally agreed to anything that was to come from English pockets in favour of Ireland. The Ministers however stoutly resisted the scheme, and the second reading was negatived by 322 against 118 votes.

After the decided opposition which the scheme met with from the Ministers, it excited no small surprise, when, some time after, they proposed a measure exactly to the same purpose, though involving a lesser sum than that of Lord Bentinck. The measure was nevertheless carried in both Houses, amidst the just complaints of Lord G. Bentinck, who claimed the parentage of it, while the incident in itself afforded another proof of the weakness which for years had characterised the Whig Administration.

In taking a survey of what was done by England for her wretched and unhappy sister kingdom, Ireland, during the years 1846 and 1847, it cannot be denied that there was on the one hand no lack of goodwill to afford proper relief to that suffering island,

whilst it showed on the other, how difficult it is to do so efficaciously after misery has been allowed to reach an extreme point. The position of Ireland, particularly in 1847, was unworthy of a civilised country, and had no paralled in the present day; but it certainly was also the turning point for a change for the better. Common misfortune united all parties, and taught them to respect man in *man*, whilst pressing necessity showed them that lasting support was only to be found in industry and in the improve- of the soil, to which, in less calamitous times, the Irish had never turned their attention. Ireland will henceforth see better days, traces of which are not wanting after even a short lapse of only five or six years.

It must also be borne in mind, that the miseries under which Ireland groaned were not of a recent date, but originated early in the last century, when the means were withheld by which the dire calamities which at last visited her might perchance have been averted.

The man who represented *old Ireland*, Daniel O'Connell, terminated his earthly career in those troublous times. He was about to visit the Holy

Father at Rome, but died at Genoa on his way thither. His body was brought to Dublin, and interred in the presence of a mourning crowd. O'Connell had not escaped the common lot of all distinguished characters—he was much beloved and much hated; but even his bitterest enemies could not help admiring in him the active energy which led him on from stage to stage, until he arrived at that point where the system of pacific agitation was no longer of avail with the masses, to whose physical strength he had so often and so flatteringly alluded in his passionate harangues. His greatest fault was, no doubt, his egotism; he could not endure a rival at his side, and would not have hesitated to annihilate any one who did not follow him with implicit obedience. He was doomed to see before his end a few ambitious heads wholly separating themselves from him, but there remained none after his death to carry on the work in the same sagacious manner in which he had begun it.

It is a mistake to suppose that O'Connell entertained an irreconcilable hatred against England; he had never ceased to regard her as his second fatherland—as the land of his glory, of his intellectual ac-

tivity. His partiality for England was only surpassed by his excessive love for his native home, and many apparent contradictions in his life can only be reconciled by this double sympathy in his character.

We must return to the political affairs of England. It was generally expected that the special measures for the relief of Ireland would be accompanied by some steps for still further facilitating the importation of corn from abroad. These anticipations were realised : towards the end of January, 1848, all parties, the Protectionists not even excepted, consented to suspend for the present the Navigation Laws as regarded the importation of corn. This measure naturally afforded a fair opportunity to the Free-trade party to move for a select committee to consider the effects of those laws generally. The motion was agreed to, and two years after, the Navigation Laws, which were once regarded as the pillars of England's greatness, were wholly repealed and abolished.

As the Session was fast approaching its end, and the seven years of the existing Parliament were about to expire, all parties abstained from broaching new political questions—all were preparing and looking forward to the coming elections. Neither were the

subjects already before the House, such as the limitation of labour hours in the manufactories, the Public Education Bill, &c., &c., brought to a final close that session, despite the repeated discussions, proposals, and even enactments. Humane zeal, added to a feeling of ill-will against the manufacturers, had been the means of detecting flagrant abuses in the manufactories and other establishments, where the physical strength of the poor labourers had been taxed to a cruel extent. Due inquiries made in the coal and manufacturing districts led to the discovery that, in consequence of overwork on the one hand, and too low wages on the other, not only powerful men and male adults met with untimely death or lingering illness, but also women and children already bore the marks of early decay and emaciation—fatal in themselves, and transplanting sickly constitutions to future generations. But instead of seeking the causes of these abuses in the stern law which, under the name of protection, taxed labour and existence to the advantage of capital, attempts were made to limit by law the labour of the working classes within certain hours of the day; and the consequence was that this new interference in the liberty of labour proved not

only unavailable, but was even fraught with new evils. Indeed Sir R. Peel and the whole Free Trade party were decidedly against these encroachments, on the part of Government, in the sphere of labour; and it is well known, that no sooner was Free Trade fully introduced, than the improved condition of the labouring classes became manifest*.

Public Education was another question beset with difficulties. In Germany, and some other countries, the *School* is entirely separated from the *Church*; each moves in a sphere of its own, without encroaching on the authority and teachings of the other; but in orthodox England not only a close connection is thought to exist between the two institutions, but a decided superiority is even conceded to the church over the school, which latter, it is believed, ought to be exclusively conducted by churchmen, and in which religion should form the chief branch of education. All proposals of Government to separate the two branches, and not restrict the pupils to religious instruction in strict harmony with the doctrines of the established church, had always been met with the

* *Vide* Appendix—PAUPERS.

most determined opposition by the orthodox parties in the country. Nevertheless, since 1833, several schools had been opened by way of experiment, where religious instruction was invested with a more general character, and could therefore be enjoyed indiscriminately by all Christian sects. But as the Catholics objected to the use of the authorised version of the Bible, their youth were excluded from religious instruction, and the consequence was that these schools gradually fell under the control of the established church.

In 1847 the Government proposed the establishment of a Normal school for the instruction of teachers. After many debates, in which the dissenters complained of the partiality shown by the State in the management of public schools, the bill passed both Houses in its essential points.

Less difficult in principle, though equally exposed to attacks and criticisms, was the bill for the erection of a bishopric at Manchester. It had long since been in contemplation to separate that diocese from that of Durham, Manchester having become of late the central point of the wealthy and populous manufacturing towns. But in order to prevent an increase in the number of bishops in the upper House, it was at first

proposed to amalgamate the two bishoprics of St. Asaph and Bangor, in Wales; the proposal, however, having met with strenuous opposition, the Government at last resolved to erect a new bishopric at Manchester, but to withhold from the bishop a seat in the upper House until a vacancy had occurred in some other diocese (with the exception of those of Canterbury, York, London, Durham, and Winchester), when the same privilege was to be withheld from the successor to the vacant see, in favour of the Bishop of Manchester. This proposition was definitively called into force in 1847.

Parliament was prorogued on the 23rd July, and immediately after, finally dissolved to make room for a new one. Its proceedings and enactments belong to the most remarkable section in English history. Elected for the purpose of preserving a rigid and restrictive principle in commerce, on which England had acted for centuries, it finished its course by adopting the very opposite maxims, and by substituting different systems in trade, industry, and finance, whereby the entire aspect and character of England's future career and prospects underwent a complete metamorphosis.

CHAP. XIV.

THE GREAT COMMERCIAL CRISIS IN 1847.—OPENING OF THE
NEW PARLIAMENT.

THE new elections began under the most pressing circumstances. Independent of the Irish distress, a monetary crisis manifested itself in England, which put the whole of the commercial world in alarm and consternation. Much has been said and argued both in this country and abroad as to the causes of the crisis which so suddenly took place in 1847. We believe that we shall not be mistaken when we look for them chiefly in the deficient corn harvests of the two preceding years. The immediate result of scarcity and dearness of provisions is invariably the observance of close economy, and a consequent diminution in the consumption of those articles that do not strictly belong to the necessaries of life. A decreased de-

mand naturally produces a decreased supply, and with it also a diminution in labour and employment. The reciprocal effect of demand and supply was particularly felt in the English foreign trade (*vide* RESOURCES, Table V.), the scarcity of 1847 having prevailed throughout the whole of Europe in an almost equal degree of severity. The evil was further aggravated by the drain of precious metal previously, in railway enterprise at home, and now in return for the vast imports of corn and other necessities from abroad (for corn alone, more than thirty millions sterling was sent abroad during this year), which also caused a rise in the price of the precious metal. In the midst of these large transactions in provisions and specie, favourable prospects of the coming harvest proved fatal to the corn merchants, who had hazarded too much in speculation. In April the Bank of England was under the necessity of raising the rate of discount in order to prevent a further drain. In August the first significant bankruptcies occurred. They were followed by a considerable number of others, which dragged after them several private banks, and the whole of the failures involved an amount of not less than thirteen

millions sterling. With many of the fallen houses, and more especially with the colonial merchants, previous overtrading had considerably added to their present difficulties. On the other hand, the operations of the Bank of England were by no means calculated to remedy the evil. Instead of limiting the sphere of credit within its narrowest bounds, she, on the contrary, extended it, in the month of September, to such a degree, that before the lapse of another month she discovered to her great alarm that the credit had been abused for renewed and hazardous speculations. She now gave notice, that not only no further loans would be granted, but also that old bills when becoming due would no longer be renewed. This operation had the desired effect, and the money market rose in consequence. On the 25th of October, the Bank resolved (with the consent of Government) to raise the rate of discount against the Bank Act of 1844 to eight per cent.; the result was that gold found its way back to the English market, and commercial relations gradually began to bear a more healthy character.

That the Protectionists almost glorified in these commercial disasters may easily be imagined. They

ascribed them to the adoption of Free Trade principles, which led, they said, to over-trading, by which the balance between the imports and exports was destroyed, and gold to a large amount sent abroad to cover the debt of some fifty or sixty millions sterling due to foreigners on account of the excess of imports over exports. There were not a few, however, who attributed the great failures of the commercial crisis to Peel's Bank Act of 1844. The Act, they said, prohibits the bank from issuing a larger amount of paper currency in time of need, when an increased circulation might have averted the commercial pressure. Later investigations have nevertheless shown that the Act only accelerated but did not cause the complete failure of those insolvent merchants, who might perhaps have found some means to prolong their giddy existence for a while,—an existence that was perhaps more dangerous to the mercantile community than the losses accruing from an open bankruptcy.

In Ireland misery had reached its climax. The most strenuous efforts, and the expenditure of enormous sums of money, did but little towards the alleviation of the sufferings of a people who lay as

helpless and prostrate as a bed-ridden invalid. Starvation and pestilence made immense ravages among the masses, and wrought in some parts of the country a complete dissolution of society. The coercive bill of Peel having been negatived, and the Arms Bill of Russell withdrawn, there existed neither law nor power to check even in some slight degree the formation of secret conspiracies. In the counties of Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary a sort of *Fehme* (secret tribunals) were formed against the landowners. Murders were committed in broad daylight, and the fear or sympathy inspired by the conspirators was so great that the perpetrators were rarely ever detected or brought to justice. Hundreds of families fled to England in order to save their lives; nor were excuses for, and even encouragement to, these violent deeds, wanting on the part of some of the Catholic clergy and the ultra patriots of Ireland.

The result of the parliamentary elections was such as hardly to produce any change in the respective positions of the political parties. Macaulay, however, was not re-elected, he being objected to by the orthodox Presbyterians of the city of Edinburgh for his having voted in favour of the Maynooth Bill.

The enlightened citizens of London, on the contrary, tried to establish a new liberal principle by electing Baron Rothschild as one of their representatives in Parliament. The validity of the election is still objected to on account of the form of oath required to be taken on admission to Parliament, which closes with the words "by the true faith of a Christian," a phrase which a Jew cannot pronounce, and which cannot be removed from the body of the oath without a special Act of Parliament.

The new Parliament was convoked for the 18th of November, and having constituted itself in due form and re-elected the previous Speaker, Shaw Lefevre, to the chair, it was opened by royal commission on the 23rd of the same month. As might be expected, the two important questions—the commercial crisis and the Irish affairs—were particularly recommended from the throne, and formed the principal topics of discussion during the short session. We need hardly characterise the tone of the ensuing debates. One party held the Government responsible for the misery existing in Ireland, whilst the other insisted on measures for the improvement of commerce and the money market. The Bank Act of 1844 was attacked

in so violent a manner as to compel Sir Robert Peel to address the House in a long speech in self-defence and in refutation of the reproaches bestowed on him for the enactment of the bill. The weakest part was played by the Protectionists, and the loudest, as usual, by the Irish members.

On the 30th of November Sir C. Wood moved in the name of the Government for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the causes of the commercial crisis and the efficiency of the laws concerning the issue of paper currency. The same motion was repeated in the upper House by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and consented to by both Houses.

To a Ministry who had come into power by their opposition to a bill proposing coercive laws in Ireland, the introduction on their part of a similar bill, though justified by circumstances, ought to have proved a very delicate if not dangerous proceeding. The Ministers might be accused of either factious opposition or at least of gross inconsistency. Indeed, the fear of such an accusation was evident from the tenor of the new bill, which authorised the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to exercise a discretionary control in some districts of that country with regard to the possession

of fire-arms by the inhabitants. The bill, however, passed both Houses, and Parliament adjourned on the 20th of December, 1847, to meet again on the 4th of February, 1848.

CHAP. XV.

THE AGITATIONS ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.—THE MINISTERIAL PLAN CONCERNING THE NAVIGATION LAWS IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF THE YEAR 1848.

ALTHOUGH nothing positive had been done during the past short session, public confidence was in some measure restored, partly by the hope that the committees of inquiry instituted during that session would recommend some salutary means for the alleviation of the commercial pressure, and partly and especially by the cessation of the causes which had called forth the crisis. The only unpleasant question, besides that of the Irish affairs, was the uncertain state of relations with France, on account of the so-called *Spanish marriages*, against which Lord Palmerston had protested. At this time a letter which appeared in the public press from the Duke of Wellington, on the

necessity of fortifying our coast opposite to France, caused, as may be supposed, no slight sensation in the public mind, and nothing was talked of for a long time but the immediate invasion of England by a French army. The letter was characterised by well-informed persons as untimely, if not indiscreet, on the part of the Duke, more especially at a period when steam power had considerably diminished the protection of the coast. It called forth numerous replies and criticisms, whilst Cobden, who had placed himself at the head of the Radical party, insisted on a diminution of taxes and expenditure, and was loud in his attacks against the Duke in the House; the letter, however, did not remain without some results, as will be seen hereafter.

On the 18th of February Sir Charles Wood laid his budget before the House. He showed that, owing to the commercial difficulties of the past year, the public revenue had diminished in many items, and that a deficit of about one million sterling was the consequence. He also stated that he did not think it advisable to make any reduction in the expenditure, since such reduction would principally affect the army and navy, which, considering the con-

tinued armament on the part of the French, he should not like to see in any degree weakened in force or extent ; but on the other hand that he thought it expedient to raise the Income Tax from three to five per cent. The proposal was met with great disapprobation in the House, whilst, on its becoming generally known, a storm of indignation burst forth from the people. To assuage the public feeling in some degree, the Ministers, on the 21st of February, proposed to appoint a committee to inquire into the estimates of the army and navy, so that the House might have an opportunity of judging for itself whether it was possible to diminish the expenditure so as to bring it to balance with the income. After numerous debates, the proposal was accepted, and provision made for covering the current expenditure.

The chief cause of the almost universal and unexpected opposition lay no doubt in the unpopularity of the tax itself. However unavoidable direct taxation had become since the abandonment of indirect, the people of England were slow in becoming used to the change. The unequal distribution and collection of the Income Tax doubtless added to the people's dislike of the tax ; neither were the times favourable

for an increase of the same. Nevertheless, the attacks on the Government were not founded in justice, nor would opposition have assumed that stern character, had the existing Government enjoyed, in financial matters, the same confidence as did Sir R. Peel, and had not Government moreover given encouragement to attacks, by the vacillating manner in which it attempted to remodel the tax.

Whilst all parties were arraying themselves against the Ministers, the news arrived of the outbreak of the February revolution in Paris. The first impression created by this intelligence was in England, as throughout Europe, astonishment at the rapidity and comparative ease with which the July throne had been demolished. The royal family fled to England, and sought and found a refuge where some of their previous actions had left an unfavourable impression on the public mind. The new provisional Government was at once acknowledged by the English Government, who took frequent opportunities of showing its sympathy with the French nation at large. England at the same time did not refuse her hospitable soil to many other exiles who also took refuge on her shores from different parts of the continent.

The Paris event, however, had no immediate effect upon England. All parties agreed that it would be far better to wait patiently for the issue, and watch the development of affairs in France.

The rather confused notions of the Ministry in finance-affairs soon manifested themselves. On the 28th of February the Chancellor of the Exchequer withdrew the bill for the increase of the Income Tax, without proposing any other measure for covering the deficiency. No sooner was the bill withdrawn than the objections to the tax generally multiplied, and proposals were made to remodel the principle in its mode of collection, to diminish the rate on trade, and increase it on landed property. The task of defending the existing principle devolved almost exclusively on Sir Robert Peel, whilst Lord G. Bentinck insisted even on abolishing the tax altogether, and on a recurrence to indirect taxation as the best means of obviating all difficulties. After much struggle, the renewal of the tax for three years longer passed both Houses.

The first symptoms of the influence of the continental agitations manifested themselves towards the end of March in two directions: in Ireland, and in England amongst the Chartists. For some years past

hardly anything had been heard of this latter party, although their views had been represented in Parliament by Feargus O'Connor (now confined in a lunatic asylum). The re-introduction of the Socialist theories in Paris inspired the Chartists with renewed courage, notwithstanding the wide difference between their own views and those of the former. They now demanded with redoubled energy the granting of the six points of the People's Charter, and called together meetings in all parts of the country for the purpose of preparing a giant petition to be presented to Parliament. The sympathy they evinced for the French Socialists, however, proved an obstacle in the way of arousing a like sympathy for themselves amongst the other classes of society, the Radicals not even excepted. The police, therefore, had little difficulty in dispersing a large body of their supporters, who had met in London for the purpose, as they alleged, of discussing the justice of the Income Tax, as also in quelling the first attempts at disturbances in the north of England and in Scotland.

More danger, however, was apprehended when the Chartists announced their intention of presenting to Parliament, on the 10th of April, a petition purported

to bear more than five millions of signatures, accompanied by thousands of people, with their leaders at the head, who for that purpose had called together a large meeting to be held on that day at Kennington-common, near London. Since the days when Lord Gordon paraded the streets of the metropolis with his fanatical party, London had not been threatened with greater danger than by the proposed march of the Chartists, who it was feared would repeat here the late scenes of Vienna and Berlin.

On the 6th of April the procession which was to join the meeting, and probably meant to intimidate the people and Parliament, was forbidden to take place, whilst the utmost means were taken by Government to guard against any disturbance. The whole way from Kennington-common to the House of Commons was almost barricaded, the military was kept on the alert, and most of the public buildings, more especially the Bank of England, were surrounded by protective inclosures and occupied by troops.

More than 150,000 inhabitants of London were sworn in as *special* constables and provided with police staffs. The consequence was, that although the meeting was held and the petition presented to

the House in due form, the attempted movement passed off harmlessly, and the crowds dispersed and quietly returned to their homes without having provoked any breach of the peace.

At a subsequent examination of the petition, it was found that the number of signatures did not exceed two millions, and that amongst them many fictitious and even obscene names had been inserted.

The Government now thought of modifying the old insurrection laws—of framing them more in accordance with the spirit of the age. They had particularly Ireland in view, where, since the death of O'Connell, the physical party alone had kept the field. At the head of that party stood Smith O'Brien, who was both morally and intellectually unfit for such leadership. He was not only by birth a Protestant, but was by repute even a deist, whilst his predecessor O'Connell, in showing himself devout and pious even to bigotry, had secured to himself the friendship of the Catholic priesthood in Ireland. Smith O'Brien's adherents, however, were not few in number; the people, kept for years in suspense by mere promises, decimated by hunger and misery, and systematically taught to hate the Saxon, blindly followed the vio-

lence of the new agitator. Shortly after the February revolution, the latter, accompanied by a few friends, went to Paris to establish a connection with the French Government against England, but they were obliged to content themselves with one of the many specious speeches of Lamartine.

Returned home, Smith O'Brien began to carry on his agitation on a larger scale, and the language of the organs of his party became more bold and violent from day to day. They not only clamoured openly and loudly for the repeal of the union, but for a complete separation from England. Though not so favourably placed as was once O'Connell, Smith O'Brien might have given great trouble to the English Government. In the United States, sympathy for Ireland was universally manifested, whilst an open outbreak in the latter island might, perhaps, have induced France not to remain a quiet spectator. However, whether it arose from indecision or incapacity, Smith O'Brien tried the last chance after all was lost. The Government was allowed not only to introduce exceptional laws for Ireland, but to adopt the most comprehensive steps for military interference in case of an outbreak. Smith O'Brien had calculated on the support of the

English Radicals, and the defection of the English troops, but the serious attitude assumed by the Government, prevented the movement from ripening into an organisation, and a few skirmishes with the police towards the end of July brought the whole affair to a final termination. Nearly all the ring-leaders were arrested, tried, judged, and transported beyond the seas.

Thus England escaped this great threatened danger also, almost without bloodshed, owing to a firm and timely resolution on the part of the Government. The questions remaining to be solved were purely of a parliamentary character. We have already touched upon the unsatisfactory aspect of the finances of the country, and the attacks to which the Ministers had exposed themselves in connection with them. The appointment of a finance committee led to no result, and the Ministers, as before mentioned, were obliged to declare their intention of not pressing for an increased rate of the Income Tax. It was, indeed, a very hazardous experiment, considering the state of affairs. But if no increase was to be made in the tax, how was the balance to be restored between the revenue and the expenditure? There was a clear deficiency of one

million sterling, which could not be covered even by an attempt to diminish the estimates in some of the items of expenditure. How was the riddle to be solved?

On the 25th of August, the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained the way in which the Government meant to restore the balance in the Exchequer. It was intended, he said, to diminish the army and navy estimates by £820,000, whilst he expected an increase in some of the sources of revenue, which, added to the Chinese war contribution of £800,000, would nearly cover the deficit. On the other hand, he continued, additional expenses would be incurred in the course of the coming year, by which the deficit would be swelled to more than two millions, which the Government proposed to cover by a loan to that amount. In extenuation of the state of the finances, Sir Charles Wood attributed the deficiency to the unsettled state of Europe, by which English commerce had suffered to a certain extent. Much objection was raised, especially by the financial reformers, to the project of increasing the National Debt, but as there remained no other way of surmounting the difficulty, the proposal was at last

agreed to. We must resign the task of entering into the prolix debates relating to the West India colonies, now the annual stereotyped subject of dispute between the various parties. Protectionists and over-pious zealots, financiers and Free Traders, combated regularly *pêle môle* with each other. This combination of various interests rendered the subject dangerous for the Ministers to enter into. By the support of Sir Robert Peel the Ministers, however, again escaped a defeat.

Far more important were the proposals first made in 1848 for the repeal of the Navigation Laws. The committee which had been appointed by the House in the previous year had made its report in due course, which report showed the injurious effects of those laws on British trade and shipping. The Irish affairs and the finance measures had consumed more than half the usual duration of a parliamentary session before the Navigation Laws were brought under discussion in the House, and after lengthy debates the bill was read the first time, the advanced season preventing its further progress that year. Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of September.

CHAP. XVI.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1849.—THE REPEAL OF THE NAVIGATION
LAWS.

PARLIAMENT was opened by the Queen in person, on the 1st of February, 1849, recommending in the Address from the Throne the termination of the parliamentary proceedings concerning the Navigation Laws, which indeed formed the pathos of the whole session. The Protection party, led by Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby), and D'Israeli (Lord G. Bentinck having died in the month of September preceding), immediately, in the reply to the Address, opposed the repeal of the Laws as likely to inflict injuries on the landed and shipping interests of the country. There was no lack of talent in the opposition party. Lord Stanley, in the upper House, was a sharp and energetic speaker, whilst D'Israeli, in the

lower House, developed so much spirit, zeal, and parliamentary generalship, that he more than fully supplied the place of the late Lord G. Bentinck. Their adherents consisted of the wealthiest squires and farmers of the country. On the 12th of February, 1849, Labouchère (President of the Board of Trade) moved for the second reading of the bill for the repeal of the Navigation Laws, and on the 14th, the House resolved itself into a committee on the subject. The Press and the five volumes of the Report of the committee had already enlightened the people on the injurious effects of these Laws. The fruits of Free Trade and the repeal of the Corn Laws had been identified with the *big* and *cheap* loaf, while the reform progress of Peel's period was yet too fresh in the memory of all Englishmen to leave any doubt as to the success of the bill. Landowners, farmers, ship-builders, ship captains, and hired sailors, made, it is true, a great demonstration throughout the country, holding imposing meetings, at which the Duke of Richmond, G. F. Young, D'Israeli, and Lord Stanley shone as zealous patriots and speakers, and where D'Israeli especially, exhausted his wit to sketch in the blackest colours Peel and his measures. All, however,

was of no avail. On the 8th of March, D'Israeli moved for *compensation* to the farmers, which demand he afterwards, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, tried to introduce as an item in his budget. But no one was willing to compensate either the farmer or landowner for losing the privilege of raising at will the price of bread, or taxing the people for its consumption. The long and passionate debates on the Navigation Laws were at last brought to a close on the 25th of April, by a majority of 61 votes (275 against 214), while in the upper House the bill was carried by a majority of 13 votes.

After the repeal of the Navigation Laws the parliamentary debates lost much in interest and excitement, as the last shovelling was thereby put upon Monopoly and Protection. There yet remained business, however, for parliamentary discussion. The state of some of our relations abroad, and the financial reform agitation at home, were still subjects of some interest in and out of Parliament. The State, it was said, ought to diminish its expenditure, and learn to keep its books in the economical sense of a private merchant; meetings and petitions to that effect were held and prepared throughout the country. With re-

gard to England's foreign policy, Palmerston enjoyed the deepest confidence of the people. Popular opinion ascribed to his sagacity and firm attitude the preservation of peace in Europe and the absence of any evil effect of the continental revolutions on the tranquillity of England. Indeed, England had been supremely quiet during all the disturbances abroad, and whilst the nations on the continent were suffering all the calamities consequent on revolutions, the English not only looked passively upon those sad spectacles, but actually drew advantages from them in a pecuniary point of view. Refugees of distinction from all parts incessantly flocked to the shores of Great Britain, bringing with them their property and treasures, and increasing thereby our trade and commerce to a considerable extent.

Ireland and the Colonies still gave the Ministers great trouble. A sort of revolution had again broken out in Canada, where a large portion of the people were aiming at the annexation of Canada to the United States. Lord Grey, however, by considerable concessions in government, and other particulars, succeeded in assuaging the popular movement, and restoring a questionable loyalty in that colony. The

most important event in the foreign relations of the country was the conquest of the Punjaub by the battle of Googerat, by which British India gained great advantage by the possession of the Indus. Parliament was also much occupied with Irish affairs, and, as usual, without much advantage. They were obliged to grant to Ireland bread and money on the one hand, and deprive her of the *Habeas Corpus Act* on the other. Life and property, however, remained as heretofore unsafe, the deeply mortgaged lands uncultivated, and industry and education unknown to the population. The Celts, not unlike the savages in North America, are fast vanishing; they either perish by famine, or emigrate to other lands, thus making room for Anglo-Saxon intelligence, industry, and perhaps education and religion. These are the results of progressive Nature, assisted by civilised intercourse—not of parliamentary enactments or legislative restrictions.

The debates as to the abolition of the malt and hop taxes had led as yet to no result; neither was Lord John Russell more successful with his *Jew Bill*, which, though it passed the lower House on the 7th of May, by 278 against 185 votes, was rejected in the upper

House on the 20th of June, by 95 against 70 votes. D'Israeli played in the debates the part of a descendant from the Jewish race. As the complete emancipation of the Jews in England is prevented only by a phrase in the oath of allegiance, which ends with the words "on the true faith of a Christian," the time cannot be far distant when the oath will receive a new form, as is now the case in the declaration taken by the Quakers.

Shortly before the prorogation of Parliament (1st of August) about one hundred liberal members met, to mark to Lord Palmerston their acknowledgment of his efforts for the preservation of general peace. They presented to Lady Palmerston a costly bust of the noble Viscount. It was generally considered, and even hinted at in the Speech from the Throne, that his *explanations* in the *Turco-Hungarian refugee* question had saved Europe from a general war. The year quietly ran its course in England, although the Protectionists still continued to hold large meetings, showing or pretending to show that England was hastening towards ruin by the adoption of Free Trade.

All the remaining incidents of that year were of a

pacific nature. The journey of the Queen through Ireland during the month of August was a continued triumphal procession, evidencing that the Celts by nature are loyal, if they are not artificially drawn aside into fanatical and demoralising party contests. Property, agriculture, industry, and religion, are the slow but sure weapons by which the Celtic race of Ireland will be exterminated by the Saxons or Orangemen, whose influence is paramount. When Lord Clarendon dismissed three Orangemen from the magistracy in October, 1849, the incident was treated by the Press as an event of great importance, whilst on the continent hundreds of such dismissals would not have excited half the attention of the Press or public. The same month was also distinguished by the meeting convened by Cobden (on the 9th of October) at the London Tavern, against the Austrian loan. It was his opinion that the people should consider well, before they parted with their money—as if the bankers and merchants ever committed the folly of lending without due consideration! These traits are certainly the weak side of the Free-traders in England. To preach caution and ethics to Mammon is to wish to control private property by legis-

lative enactments, or to endeavour to force money into certain directions and pockets by dint of Customs duties.

Amongst the meetings of the season, that held on the 17th of October, at the Mansion House, under the auspices of his Royal Highness Prince Albert, as President of the Society of Arts, was of vast importance in the history of the arts and sciences. It was at that meeting that arrangements were made for the selection of the site for the *Exhibition* to be held in 1851.

Towards the end of the session, Sidney Herbert brought forward a plan for alleviating the sufferings of the needlewomen by means of emigration. That it failed in answering its purposed end, is referable to the nature of every social system, however sublime and humane in its construction. Practical life only obeys the cold laws of arithmetic and calculation, and these laws generate more charity and brotherly love, and even love for our enemies, than all the benevolent societies taken together, provided they (the laws) are not crippled or fettered by the so-called higher political considerations. Witness the Factory or Ten Hours Bill which, though humanely con-

ceived, remains still without force and effect, simply because it did not agree in principle with the economical rules of practical life.

The *summary gain* of the year 1849 was presented to the public in the form of a letter written by Sir Robert Peel, in which he stated his conviction, that *Protection* would never again prevail in England.

CHAP. XVII.

THE YEAR 1850.—PALMERSTON.—EFFECTS OF THE REPEAL
OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS.—PARLIAMENT.—FREE-TRADERS
AND PROTECTIONISTS.

DURING the latter part of the year 1849 and the beginning of the year 1850, England played a peculiar part in her foreign policy, more especially as regards the Hungarian war. Palmerston, whilst apparently favouring the revolution and securing an asylum for the political refugees in Turkey, also managed on the other hand to keep on friendly terms with the despotic courts on the continent. It was a task as difficult as it at first appeared inexplicable, but which afterwards deservedly gained for him the reputation of being one of the greatest diplomatists of the day.

The attention of England was now mainly directed towards the effects produced by the repeal of the

Navigation Laws*. The Stanley-D'Israeli party tried to show that the repeal of these, as well as of the Corn Laws, had proved fatal in the extreme. The two leaders now mustered all their forces to give battle at the very opening of the session, whilst a few of their party racked their brains to prove by statistical compilations, in journals and pamphlets, that England was on the verge of bankruptcy, brought on by Free Trade; that her people were starving and demoralised, her workhouses filled, ay, overflowed with paupers; and that she owed some fifty or sixty millions sterling to merchants abroad for an excess of imports over exports, which she either must cancel with bullion or wipe off the score by declaring herself insolvent. Reports of some strong allusions about to be made in the Address from the Throne as to the benefits which accrued from Free Trade, still more sharpened the wit and increased the preliminary efforts of the leaders of the Opposition, who frequently met at Lord Stanley's. It was, in short, generally understood that the coming Parliament would assume a *dramatic* aspect from the very outset.

* See Appendix as to Tonnage.

Parliament was opened by Commission on the 31st of January, 1850. The Address from the Throne spoke of the hopes entertained that other nations would soon follow the example of Great Britain, and introduce measures of Free Trade and unrestricted competition; and that, though some reports spoke of agricultural distress, the nation was upon the whole in a state of prosperity. "It is," the Address continued, "a source of real joy to her Majesty to witness the abundance and cheapness of the necessaries of life, on which the existence of the poor labouring classes so much depends." The answer to the Address was moved by the Earl of Essex, which was in fact an echo of the royal speech, whilst the Earl of Stradbroke proposed an amendment, ascribing the agricultural distress in Great Britain, and particularly in Ireland, to the recent laws of Free Trade and to the increase of local burdens. Lord Stanley supported the amendment with great zeal, although he wound up by stating that he would be content for the present with a moderate fixed duty. The amendment, however, was lost by a majority of 49 votes (152 against 103). In the lower House a similar amendment was also ne-

gated by a majority of 119 votes (311 against 192).

On the 19th of March, D'Israeli moved for a revision of the Poor Laws in favour of the landowners, as a *compensation* for the losses sustained by them in consequence of the repeal of the Corn Laws. After two nights' debate, the motion was lost by a majority of 11 votes (273 against 262). This small majority against the motion stimulated the party to repeated proposals of a similar tendency in favour of the agricultural classes, but without success, whilst the continued opposition they offered to the Government on nearly all the bills of the session, and the assistance they invariably lent to any motion, no matter from what quarter it emanated, where there was any chance of defeating the Government, so soured the temper of Lord John Russell that he, on more than one occasion, threatened to resign. That Hume's annual motion for the extension of the elective rights was again rejected on the 28th of February by 242 against 96 votes is not to be wondered at, considering the indiscreet conduct of the working classes during that year.

Hume, H. Drummond, Cobden, and others, also moved in their usual way for a reduction of the army

expenses and public expenditure generally. They did not succeed that year, simply because the public exchequer had already undergone various experiments by the removal of many restrictions on trade and navigation. The Free-traders were therefore content with exempting *tiles* and *wood* for building purposes from import duties, though they did not in the least suspect what a benevolent revolution those free tiles and wood would call forth in London. The vast masses of houses, cottages, and villas with splendid gardens, built with untaxed materials, in the extreme suburbs of the metropolis, have already afforded a fair opportunity to large numbers of the working classes, of renting small houses for themselves and families, at a much cheaper rate than they paid for the couple of rooms they had hitherto occupied in the densest and most insalubrious parts of the city.

The Protectionists, unable any longer to command the political sphere, now turned their attention to Sunday posts, labour, tea, malt, and even to literature and newspapers. Socialism began to flourish under their auspices, and for some time attempts were even made to re-introduce the mediæval institutions of guilds and corporations in England. The free re-

lation between the employers and the employed was to cease, or at least become reorganised. Societies of needlewomen, tailors and shoemakers, printers and compositors, were formed for the purpose of abolishing free competition and Free Trade, whilst Lord Ashley's mischievous motion had masked itself under the form of Christian charity. He made a new motion on the 14th of March on the Ten Hours Bill. Throughout the whole year the working men were on the move, complaining, by petitions and at meetings, of the violation of the bill. The meetings were followed by deputations and interviews with the Home Secretary. Time, necessity, and experience, however, healed the wounds without the assistance of the State physician. The Society for Female Emigration shipped their first portion of 813 persons to Port Phillip in the month of February. The efforts of the Society were directed to the alleviation of a class who had recently attracted public notice in the parliamentary reports; but time and experience, even with regard to this charitable Society, have taught that the purest and noblest acts of humanity are by themselves unable to meet great social evils, which, if they are not remedied by the free development of social

interests generally, are certainly of a most incurable character, and beyond the reach of legislative prescription. The Restrictionists (*alias* Protectionists) carried their motion against the delivery of letters on Sundays, while Lord Ashley's motion, supported by 3280 petitions containing 547,538 signatures, passed the House on the 30th of May by 93 against 68 votes.

We pass over the minor incidents and proceedings with which the session of 1850 so abounded; they are but isolated facts, and have no connection with the internal history of England. We cannot, however, omit noticing the death of Sir Robert Peel (caused by injuries sustained in a fall from his horse), which took place on the 2nd of July. This fatal accident is truly an historical event. It deprived England of one of her greatest and noblest statesmen, Parliament of one of its most energetic members, Free Trade one of its greatest authorities, and his party, whom he had served until 1846, for the space of twenty-three years, of its most spirited leader. The accident proved, however, afterwards, to be more of an individual than a national calamity. The reformer had been snatched away, but the reforms that he had brought about continued their onward course, progressing with

ever-increasing vigour. It was the fault of his *disciples* and *successors*—the Peelites—that his system has not been carried out to a greater extent, or fraught with still better results. Sir Robert Peel spoke his last words in the House on the 28th of June. “I have supported the ministers,” said he, “because I perfectly approve of their internal policy, which I think has been liberal and conscientious. I agree with them, and repeat it emphatically, that peace and the true interests of the country chiefly rest upon the principles of our commercial policy.” These words form both his own epitaph and legacy to England. Both Houses adjourned for two days, as a mark of deep mourning for the great man.

Peel had taken great interest in the Greek question, which may be considered as the most important and exciting subject of the whole session. The Free-traders and Protectionists had respectively made an attempt, during that session, to bring the party question to an issue in the House, both in principle and parliamentary form. The latter had chosen the foreign policy of the Government as the battle-field for the fall of the Ministers, whilst the former, anxious to secure to the industrial classes the same elective

rights as those enjoyed by the agricultural classes, selected this topic as the best means of altogether destroying the opposing party. Both were unsuccessful, simply because the forms in which the real question was couched were unpopular in the country. On the 17th of June, Lord Stanley attacked Lord Palmerston, and with him the Government, for his harsh proceedings against the Greek Government in the *Pacifico* affair. He succeeded in having a censure recorded against Lord Palmerston by a majority of thirty-seven votes ; but in the lower House the conduct of the latter was approved by a majority of 46 votes (310 against 264). The debate in the lower House lasted for five nights, during which Lord John Russell, in approving of the policy of the noble Viscount, said that he (Lord Palmerston) " was not a Russian or an Austrian, but an English Minister, and as such he had acted in full conformity with his own views."

The parliamentary campaign of the Liberals, which opened on the 9th of July, by the motion of Locke King to extend the elective right in towns to £10 householders, equally resulted in failure, the motion being rejected by 159 against 100 votes. The ques-

tion involved radical principles, for which the Free-traders of Manchester and the other manufacturing places did not care much, now that they had obtained, in a direct way, all that they had for years been contending for. Moreover, the agitations among the working-classes for higher wages and less time of labour, were but little calculated to favour a motion which might eventually place them in a position to legislate to the injury of their employers.

The lower House was as yet, in a religious point of view, unprepared to extend emancipation to the Jews. Englishmen, although wise and humane in practical life, are much more scrupulous and hesitating in religious and church questions than other civilised nations. It may be attributed to their education, and the peculiar state of Protestantism, as it appears in the whole history of their church and the dogmas of their Oxford Catechisms. However, Parliament and Rothschild can easily dispense with each other for the present, without damage to the British Christians or to the British Jews.

Parliament was prorogued by the Queen on the 15th of August. The session was one of the longest and most active of its kind. One hundred and fifty-

five bills were taken into consideration; ninety-five had been brought in, seventeen adjourned or rejected, and seventy passed into law. More than 1100 hours had been occupied in its sittings. The main result was the extension of the moral and practical sphere of Peel's system, and the establishment of a safe and sound policy despite the various and passionate attacks of the Protectionists. Improvements were introduced in the Australian Government, free intercourse and civilisation enlarged at home and abroad, the laws of the land amended, the elective right extended in Ireland, the marine made more perfect, and many local burdens removed.

The rise and progress of the *Exhibition of Industry of all Nations* had roused and fostered a universal feeling of peace and harmony during the year, not only in England, but throughout the civilised world. In the autumn of that year, however, the political sky became overcast by the news of large armaments on the continent, as also of the arrival of a papal bull to the *believers* in England and Ireland, which was calculated to create feelings of misgiving in the minds of the English Protestants, and call forth the old watchword of "*No Popery*" throughout the country.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION OF 1851—AND THE MIDDLE OF
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE nineteenth century, which had commenced with barbarous wars, and was completing its first moiety amidst agitations, disturbances, and revolutions on the continent of Europe, was nevertheless destined to usher in its second half period by a universal festival of peace. It was the plan of the greatest soldier and politician on the continent, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, to exclude the iron, coals, and manufactures of Great Britain from the rest of Europe; whilst England, on the other hand, began the second half century with inviting all nations to rivalry and competition, mutual instruction and perfection, in the various branches of industry and the

arts and sciences. From all parts of the civilised world might vessels have been seen steering towards the Metropolis, for the focus in Hyde Park, where, after some discussion in Parliament, the building for the reception and exhibition of the goods was erected. All had worked for this grand exhibition, all had strained their ingenuity and invention to assist in adorning this first temple of peace.

England had reason to look back with pride upon the past half century.

The population had increased from 10,942,646 in 1801, to 17,735,871 in 1850.

The exports of produce and manufactures had increased from £39,871,203 in 1800, to £63,596,025 in 1850.

The shipping had increased from 1,996,802 tons in 1800, to 7,404,588 tons in 1850.

In the year 1800 there was a deficiency of revenue to the amount of £18,604,291; and in the year 1850 there was a surplus of revenue over the expenditure by £2,578,806.

The bullion in the Bank of England in 1800 amounted to £6,144,000, in 1850 to £17,010,000.

The rental of England and Wales in 1800 was estimated at £20,000,000, in 1850 at £60,000,000.

The imports of raw cotton amounted in 1800 to 56,010,732 lbs., and in 1850 to 757,379,840 lbs.

The quantity of wool imported in 1800 amounted to 8,000,000 lbs., and in 1850 to 700,000,000 lbs.

The export of cotton manufactures by the yard amounted in 1800 to 72,000,000 yards, and in 1850 to 1,358,000,000 yards.

The export of twist and yarn in 1814 amounted to 7,328,760 lbs., and in 1850 to 131,000,000 lbs.

The Exhibition of 1851 was opened by the Queen, with great splendour, on the 1st of May 1851. We pass over the magnificence and wealth accumulated in the building, and the vast number of persons of all climes who visited it, as these have been fully described in works devoted to the subject; and we will only notice that the building in itself presented a novelty to the world, being wholly constructed of iron and glass. In a financial point of view it fully answered the most sanguine expectation. During the six months of its duration in Hyde Park, the receipts, including the subscriptions, amounted to £505,107,

and, after paying all the expenses in connection with the undertaking, there remained a surplus of £150,000, which was subsequently expended in the purchase of land at Kensington Gore, for the site of a new National Gallery, &c.

CHAP. XIX.

THE YEAR 1851.—PARLIAMENT.—THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.



PARLIAMENT, which was opened on the 14th of February, formed a curious contrast to the Industrial Palace, delineated in the preceding chapter. It appeared as if Old England, intimidated by Young England, had taken refuge in Parliament, in order to give vent to her feelings and carry out her old notions. Half the session passed away chiefly in apprehension of the Pope and the Jews. The only financial operations of the session were, the reduction of the coffee and sugar duties, and the abolition of the assessed taxes on windows. Until the 4th of July Parliament was fully engaged with the debates on the "Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill," the third reading of which was carried by 263 against 46 votes. Such a majority against Catholic titles and functions in a

country where all religious persuasions enjoy full liberty; such a fear that the Pope at Rome would again bring under his rule the crown of England and the creed of the English; such a hatred against Popery, which has so frequently agitated the mind of the people to the utmost extent, would indeed be a perfect enigma in a civilised country like England—the asylum of the persecuted of all countries of the world—if the Protestantism of England, if her high-church dogmas and theology, were not the weakest side of the country. The official Protestantism of England is only another name for episcopal Popery, and the very similarity it bears in form and character with Catholicism, sufficiently explains the great hatred, jealousy, and even fear that exist between them.

A motion of D'Israeli on the 13th of February, to take into consideration the losses and sufferings of the farmers whenever a financial change was to be made in the burdens of the country, was negatived by a majority of only 14. A proposal by Government for the further reduction of the timber duty from 15*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* per load was consented to without opposition on the 14th of April, as was also another on the 5th of July, for the further reduction of colonial sugar to

10s., and foreign to 14s. per cwt. for a period of three years. The call of *no house* was heard more frequently during that session than any other recorded.

The second reading of the Jew Bill, brought in by Lord John Russell, was carried in the lower House on the 1st of May by 202 against 177 votes, but rejected in the upper House on the 17th of July by a majority of 36 votes; and an attempt of Alderman Salomons (who had been elected member for Greenwich) to force himself into the House resulted in a peremptory order from the Speaker to force him out of it; but the penalties attending such an illegal attempt could not be carried into practical effect, chiefly owing to the popular feeling against them.

An amendment by Hume to prolong the Income Tax for one year only, instead of for three years, was carried against the Government by a majority of 14 (244 against 230 votes); as was also a motion of Locke King to equalise the elective right between towns and counties (to which Lord John Russell had objected), by a majority of 48 (100 against 58 votes). These several though harmless defeats induced Lord John Russell and the Cabinet to give in their resigna-

tion. Lord Stanley (Earl of Derby) was called to form a new Cabinet, but after several attempts declared his inability to do so. Lord John Russell, who was again desired to reconstruct the Cabinet, also signified his inability to accomplish the task, owing to a difference of opinion on the papal question between himself and Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham. After a second but fruitless attempt of Lord Stanley to form a Ministry, the Duke of Wellington advised her Majesty to send for Lord John Russell, and instruct him to resume office with his old colleagues: in short, to withdraw his resignation and allow the Cabinet to be composed of its previous members. This ministerial crisis but too plainly showed, on the one hand, that the spirit and vital power had fled from the old parties, and on the other, that the modern party of Manchester and Liverpool was yet too young, and perhaps too radical in its principles, to be intrusted with the administration of the country, at that time so replete with conflicting elements, laws, institutions, and opinions. From the 20th of February to the 3rd of March, England had remained without a Government, and yet nobody perceived it. Everything passed on, as if nothing had happened to

arrest its progress. Self-government, or the sovereignty of the people, is in England an established fact,—a reality that cannot be frustrated by the political creed of the servants of the crown, who must follow the current of public opinion, however little in accordance with their own private views,—a fact of which the Derby Government of the succeeding year gave ample evidence. The session was closed on the 8th of August, during which the Russell Ministry suffered repeated defeats by majorities of from 1 to 50 and 60 votes.

CHAP. XX.

KOSSUTH.—FRENCH COUP D'ÉTAT.—VISIT OF MR. WALKER.



TOWARDS the latter end of the year 1851, England felt a few shocks of political agitations. The revolution in Cuba had called forth both hopes and apprehensions, which vanished, however, with the rapid termination of the revolution. The arrival of Kossuth in England, in November, was of a more exciting character. The charms which reflected afar round his name, his deeds and vicissitudes, were still more enhanced by his rich and fiery eloquence in the English language, as well as by the tenor of his addresses, which he knew well how to adapt to the English way of thinking. Southampton, London, and Manchester received him officially as the greatest hero and martyr of the day. Beyond these indications of sympathy, however, his career in England made no further

progress. The popular excitement soon turned into another channel—that of the French *coup d'état*. On the 29th of September, England had drawn a closer connection with France, by the establishment of a submarine telegraph between the capitals of London and Paris, and within two months afterwards, France faced England's shores in hostile attitude, as her old historical foe. A panic of war, ay, invasion, aroused the peaceable inhabitants of the island from their golden dreams in the late festival of Peace, where, in their industrial and scientific intercourse with all the nations of the world, they had neglected their national defence by land and water.

This panic was increased by the English *coup d'état*, on the 22nd of December; for such indeed was the dismissal of Lord Palmerston, for having approved of the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, from the Cabinet. His dismissal was viewed by the English nation as a real invasion of continental diplomacy, which Palmerston had always opposed in the most decisive manner. Much has been said and argued about the affair; but the real cause lay, no doubt, in the desire for peace and tranquillity which the Ministers were courting with heart and soul. By

his habitual remonstrances upon the domestic affairs of foreign states, Palmerston had given much trouble to his colleagues, who became overwhelmed with complaints from foreign courts on the subject ; Spain went even so far as to expel the English Ambassador from that court for venturing to give official counsel to the Spanish Government on some subject connected with their internal policy. Palmerston received a summary dismissal, a compliment which he afterwards returned by upsetting the Cabinet altogether.

We must not omit to mention the arrival, at the end of the year, of a member of the United States Cabinet, Mr. Walker, at Liverpool and Manchester. In his sound speeches he pointed out the vast advantages that have accrued from the liberal policy adopted in England, and which the United States are closely imitating, in harmony with their mutual interests and bond of kindred friendship.

CHAP. XXI.

THE YEAR 1852.—THE FEAR OF INVASION.—THE AMALGAMATED
SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS.

THE year 1852 commenced with gloomy uncertainty and forebodings, which vented themselves in various meetings, petitions, and schemes. The fear of a French invasion was daily gaining strength, and excited imagination soon connected with it a crusade against the Protestant church and religion. It was proved by the public press that neither the army nor the navy were in an efficient state to inspire England's continental neighbours with a wholesome fear of approaching her shores, whilst her relations with foreign courts generally, were not such as to enable her to place reliance upon their promises of peace and safety. England felt herself alone and isolated. The movements at home were ill calculated

to dispel the gloomy apprehensions which existed throughout the land. A sort of civil war, in a social point of view, also began to be waged between the different classes against each other, and which, from its extent and obstinacy, threatened to destroy the prosperity of the country—so gloriously represented but a few months back at the Great Industrial Exhibition. It was a combination of labour against capital, carried on by nearly the whole of the working classes in the realm. The movement was begun by the engineers and machinists, who attempted to dictate terms to their employers. This attempt may be considered as the greatest social question ever submitted to the practical test of experience; and, as the Government did not interfere in the contest, but allowed the various parties to exhaust their moral and physical, and even intellectual resources, it affords the best practical evidence of the hollowness of the exorbitant claims of all those who are ignorant of the mutual relations that exist between production and consumption, or the values of labour and capital. It has been said that, had it not been for the large capital of the capitalists, they never would have conquered, nor maintained their imaginary rights. But this very

assertion brings the question back to its starting-point. What are capitalists without capital? Are not employers capitalists to those whom they employ and pay wages? Did not the labourers themselves engage in the struggle by means of capital against capital? They wanted, properly speaking, to conquer large capital by small capital! Having been supported by a subscription capital of £30,000, they intended to dictate terms to the owners of vastly greater amounts, without considering that such an attempt, without recourse being had to physical force, plunder and theft—crimes which the educated engineers held in utter abhorrence—was, both naturally and morally, utterly impossible. They were suffering under a social disease, more prevalent in England than elsewhere, and where a vast number of people were rendering themselves unhappy for the purpose of making their future condition more comfortable.

The English engineers and machinists, the most important, best educated, and well paid class of workmen, had, at an early period, formed unions in their respective localities, which were afterwards moulded into one “Amalgamated Society.” That

Society consisted of one hundred and twenty unions, counting more than twelve thousand members. It had its head-quarters in London ; the staff consisted of an executive council of seven members. The object of the unions, originally, was of a purely humane character—to assist the sick and destitute members, as also to provide for their funerals, and, to a certain extent, afford support to the orphans and widows of the deceased members. The revenues of such an extensive Society soon surpassed its expenditure, and created a sort of consolidated fund, which prompted them to extend their thoughts to schemes far beyond the supply of mere immediate wants. They insisted upon increased wages and a diminution of the time of labour ; and as these conditions were refused by the employers, they made a *strike*. In return, the employers also formed themselves into a union, and resolved not to employ any one who belonged to the “ Amalgamated Society.” They thus stood in hostile array against each other—the one refusing to work and the other withholding employment, and ceasing business altogether, rather than yield to the conditions prescribed by the opposite party. More than ten thousand labourers were thus thrown out of

employment and cast upon the funds of the Society for support, which rapidly disappeared, despite the continual supply from different Societies of various characters in the country. Want and necessity at last compelled the engineers to resume work, and their pretended claims were thus set aside by the simple process of nature, *supply and demand*, which act upon each other in the same manner as cause and effect. The loss, both to the employed and the employers, during the fifteen weeks' strike, has been estimated to exceed three millions sterling.

CHAP. XXII.

WARLIKE DISPOSITIONS.—ARMAMENTS.



DURING the conflict with the working classes, England likewise suffered from the panic of the "Attila of Socialism," as Louis Bonaparte was called. In England the conflict manifested itself in mere logic and argument, while on the other side of the channel the sword and bayonet were used as the convincing agencies, and the military became the dominant power in France. A Pretorian Government, it was thought, soon leads to foreign wars, to conquests abroad in order to quiet the rapacious desires of the soldiery, who would otherwise lend their assistance in spreading to a still greater degree the confusion and disorder so prevalent at home. It was moreover rumoured, that Louis Bonaparte, during his stay in England as a French refugee, had more than once hinted at his

destiny, which, he said, at some future period would impel him to attack England. A vast store of coals for steam-vessels had also been found in the depôts of the late King Louis Philippe, and the old reports and apprehensions of a French invasion were again renewed with redoubled force and zeal, recalling to mind the letter which the Duke of Wellington had addressed to the nation a few years back on the defenceless state of the English coast. That letter was now the daily topic of the press, which dwelt with gloomy speculations on the possibility of the people one night being roused from their beds by the beating of French drums, proclaiming England a French province, enjoying *universal suffrage* under the auspices of a Catholic Government.

It was fully believed by the English people, that they would be called upon to defend their families, treasures, institutions, Protestantism and Germanism against absolutism and ultra-montanism. The whole nation was accordingly on the alert; rifle and target unions were formed amongst all classes throughout the country, in anticipation of the coming war, and every one was ready to receive the enemy of religion and civilisation in due military style.

It is true that the Cabinet and part of the aristocracy and manufacturers, and the friends of peace, thought differently. Lord John Russell had purposely rid his Cabinet of the violent Palmerston, to soften the angry feelings of the continental courts, and maintain peace at any price rather than involve the country in expensive wars. Public opinion, however, compelled Lord John to order warlike preparations. Men-of-war were put in commission, war steamers were recalled from distant seas, the arsenals and forts repaired, new arms ordered, and, in short, everything was done to convince the people that nothing had been neglected for the defence of the country, so long, at least, as France based her power exclusively upon her military forces.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1852.



WHILE the Conservative Ministry of Peel brought about new reforms and liberal measures, the Whig Ministry of Russell remained almost Conservative in principle and stationary in policy. To this cause may be attributed the fall of the latter, which the indulgence and weakness of the Opposition for some time had delayed. The Ministry of Lord John Russell was a family union of *médiocre* capacity, unable to carry out Peel's notions and plans of reform. Including eight members of the upper House, the Administration contained no less than thirty-nine members, belonging, more or less, to the same family, and closely united by blood or marriage. Peel had broken the old historical preponderance of the landed

aristocracy, and raised the industry and commerce of the towns to political eminence. He laid down the principles, the elements for further reforms, which he would no doubt have carried out himself, had he remained in office, but the Russell Ministry seemed only to have kept in view the past, the preservation of all that had been effected by their predecessors, without thinking of going a step further, to make a bold advance in the way of liberalism. Great excitement had for some time prevailed among the people, who were, on the one hand, desirous of Parliamentary, Chancery, and Custom-house reforms, and incensed on the other, against a host of expensive evils which stood out in glaring contrast by the side of Peel's reforms ; but the Government well knew how to keep back all these claims by fair promises of "considering them in due time," and other pretences of the usual diplomatic stamp, until the anticipation of a coming war with France had nearly exhausted the patience of the nation, who now looked forward to the opening of Parliament with anxious curiosity, feeling certain that some great measures would be proposed and carried, at least as regarded England's

foreign relations, with which the people and the press had connected the mysterious dismissal of Lord Palmerston.

Parliament was opened on the 3rd of February, for the first time in the new building. The speech from the throne was couched in vague terms, and was deemed unsatisfactory, considering the exciting circumstances of the day. On the following day Lord John Russell explained, in a long speech, the causes that led to the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from the Cabinet; he (Palmerston) had on several occasions, he said, been disobedient to the Queen's and his own orders, and he had moreover approved of the French *coup d'état* in plain words to the French ambassador, Count Walewsky, without previously consulting his colleagues. Lord John Russell would not, however, take any notice of a paragraph in the "Breslau Gazette," which was penned before the news of Palmerston's dismissal was even known to the London press, and which ascribes the incident to the influence of Prince Schwarzenburg. The defence of Palmerston was as lame as was the accusation of his opponent. He laid a stress upon his private views, which had nothing in common with his public duties, and claimed

the same privilege of thinking for himself as his late colleagues did in like manner. It was believed, out of doors, that both heroes of the evening had endeavoured to mystify the truth by a confusion of words. Be this however as it may, the liberal portion of the population considered Palmerston a martyr to continental intrigues, and the English Cabinet guilty of allowing itself to be swayed by foreign influence.

The Press, with a few exceptions, had always condemned the French *coup d'état*, and the incidents attending it, in the strongest terms, and Lord John Russell was not slow in regretting and complaining of the severe tone assumed by the Press generally against Louis Bonaparte. Many of the Lords, and Lord Derby in particular, took the same course, and they even thought it their duty to defend the President of the French against the Press of their own country. In return, the Press rose *en masse* in vindication of its rights and privileges, which, it asserted, were beyond the power of the Cabinet.

The English Constitution is neither an aristocratic nor a democratic, nor even a written law; but it is typocratic, and written every day. The Press is the living expression of public opinion, which governs

everything in England, and the most talented and able articles that were ever published in the London journals belong to that time and the topics of that day. Many of the leaders in those journals will probably figure at some future period, as historical records, even though written for the interest of the present.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE REFORM BILL OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL.



ON the 9th of February the Premier brought in his long-promised Reform Bill. On the one hand he lowered the money and property conditions of the elective right in towns to about the half of the previous amount, and on the other he re-constructed many of the *rotten boroughs* into elective franchises, in order, as he said, to reconcile the landed interests with those of the towns. Old feudalism, in the distribution of elective right, was thus to remain in force. New, populous, and flourishing towns were to be excluded from that right, and poor deserted boroughs entitled to legislate for them. The bill, although it pretended to restore the balance between the interests of towns and country, which had been destroyed by Peel's reforms, was, in effect, calculated to annihilate

it altogether. Ratepayers of 40s. and householders of £5 rental annually, are hardly to be met with in the English towns, whilst the elective right was to be restored to fifty-six rotten and decayed boroughs, although they were only inhabited by some few descendants of the gatekeepers and steeplewardens of yore. Among the number of these boroughs were: Old Sarum, containing one house and twelve inhabitants, and Beer-alston, which seems to have vanished from the face of the earth, as no one could tell where it was situated. The almost endless witty sallies of the press on the subject, and the various articles and leaders on the "Rotten Boroughs of Lord John Russell," may be numbered among the classical creations of the comic literature of the age.

CHAP. XXV.

THE MILITIA BILL.—THE FALL OF THE RUSSELL MINISTRY.



ON the 16th of February Lord John Russell brought in his Militia Bill. It provided for the increase of the regular troops to the amount of 4000 men, and the artillery 1000 men, besides the creation of a local militia consisting of 80,000 men in the first and 30,000 in the second class, of which one-fifth was to be called into service every year. After long debates the resolution was consented to, simply because it provided some actual defence against an invasion,—the talk of the day. It may seem strange, that the Russell Ministry, that had suffered many defeats of greater importance without thinking seriously of resigning office, should now, by an amendment of one little word, “regular” instead of “local” militia, as proposed by their previous colleague, Palmerston, and

which was carried by only eleven chance votes, believe that the time for leaving office had arrived in earnest. That amendment, however insignificant in itself, greatly tended to fill to the brim the cup of bitterness that was preparing for the Government. The Irish press bribery, the Caffre war, the Chancery Reform, and many other questions of a troublesome nature were so many stumbling-blocks in the path of the Ministers; over one of them they were sure to fall, so that it only remained a matter of choice, like the death of Seneca, how and by what means it was best to meet their end.

The motion of the Derby party censuring the Government, or rather Lord Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for having granted gratuities to the Irish press (to the Editor of the "World"), having met with failure on the 19th of February, the amendment of Lord Palmerston, which was to come on the following day, the 20th, relating to the Militia Bill, was in consequence deemed of so little importance by most of the members, that many of them actually absented themselves from the House, little suspecting the result and its consequences. The amendment was adopted by a majority of 11 votes (136 against

125). Lord John Russell then declared that it amounted to a vote of want of confidence, and that he held himself free from all responsibility of the bill, which he said might as well be introduced in its new form by Lord Palmerston.

The latter seemed surprised at the declaration, and the House was thrown into confusion in anticipation of the consequences. It was feared that the moment had at last arrived when the Derbyites would be intrusted with the administration of the country.

Sir Benjamin Hall was almost the only one who spoke out his opinion in plain and bold terms, on the situation of affairs. He was, he said, as little afraid of a Protectionist as of a French invasion. Let the Protectionists by all means come into power, and we shall then see what they mean to do, and how far they will carry out their principles. They can do no harm; while on the other hand it is constitutional to expect that on withdrawing the Militia Bill, Lord John Russell intends also to resign the Government. The meaning was clear enough; it said in other words, let there be a Protectionist Government, in order to get rid of Protection and its party.

Lord John Russell now declared in plain terms, that, having lost the confidence of the House, the Ministers intended to resign. The fall of the Cabinet was partly, if not mainly, owing to the indifference of the Free Trade party, who having obtained, as they thought, all that they desired, considered their mission at last terminated, no matter what party was to govern the country in future.

Nothing was now left to be done but to intrust the large Protection party with the Administration. The leaders of that party had already, as early as 1851, turned their thoughts to preparations for office, and begun to qualify their opinions on Free Trade, so far as even to request some of the editors of their leading organs in the Press not to insert any articles bearing on Protection and its principles.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE DERBY MINISTRY.

THE Derby Ministry was the penalty inflicted on England for having stopped midway in the path of mercantile, financial, and social reforms, the outlines of which had been sketched by the late Sir Robert Peel. It must indeed have been very humiliating to Lord John Russell and his colleagues to have again to repair to the Queen with their portfolios, to resign office, and recommend once more their opponents as successors. The nomenclature of the new Ministers filled the farmers with joy and the Free Traders with alarm, whilst the people at large viewed it with more tact and judgment. They laughed and mocked at the names as they appeared in the "Gazette" and the public press, and only wondered at the courage or madness of those men who ventured upon

the task of governing the country when they knew that the country was unwilling to be governed by them, and that the time for sliding scales and protective duties had past and gone.

Derby and D'Israeli were alone considered eminent characters in the new Cabinet: the others were but of subordinate names and talents. The Derby Ministry did not obtain power by the force of their own opinions, but by the split between the Reformers and Free Traders in the opposite camp. This circumstance, if viewed in its proper light, sufficiently explains the whole occurrence. England, careless about her functionaries, progresses and advances by rapid steps upon the high road of reform and civilisation. The process of her development is neither advanced nor checked by the influence of the State or Cabinet, since the practical channels of culture, and the teachings of the press, remain free and unshackled under all circumstances of ministerial changes. The appearance of the Derbyites on the ministerial benches created but little sensation in the House. The new Ministers were repeatedly challenged to issue a Protection programme for the guidance of the House and the country, but they always

avoided accepting the challenge on some pretext or other. The Free Traders re-organised their party, and re-established the Anti-Corn-Law League, to be prepared for the field against the Derbyites. The latter, however, never thought of giving battle. They knew they were in a minority as regarded their own principles, but durst not renounce them at once, for fear of offending the party whose leaders they were, and who now expected a return to the old *régime* of Protection and Conservatism, for which, during the past ten years, they had spent time, money, and influence.

The historical interest in the lamentable play in which the Derbyites and Parliament performed some curious parts, during the summer of 1852, can only be found in the evidence to be deduced, that there is no chance of old theories, however ably represented, prevailing in a country where practical benefit is the only means by which popularity and general favour can be obtained. The Derbyites, with all their courage and passion for party purposes, were unable to obtain a footing either as Protectionists or even under the modified appellation of Tory-Conservatives. D'Israeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer,

was even compelled to become the panegyrist of Peel and his reforms, in order to assuage the indignant feelings of the House. In introducing his first budget, he acknowledged that the benefits derived from the Free Trade system were undeniable; looking, however, at the wry faces behind him, he qualified the praise by observing that the system had been adopted too precipitately, and that, by doing so, great injury had been inflicted on the agricultural interests. There was so much shuffling in the speeches, so much of the "Figaro here, Figaro there," that, not being able to give a plain explanation to any party, the Ministers at last told the House that they would leave the principles of Free Trade and Protection to be settled by the country, in a new election of Parliament, and that they would be guided by the national decision before the end of that year. This implied, in other terms, that they no longer had any settled principles of their own, and that, rather than give up office on account of a mere bias for Protection, they would adopt any views by which a majority might be commanded in the House. This was a master-trick (though unconstitutional) worthy of a Metternich or Talleyrand. To their old

friends they said, "Do your best at the coming elections to return a Protectionist majority, and we are ready to do away with all Free Trade measures, against which we have been fighting all along. In case, however, the elections should turn against you, what can it profit you if we do resign? It is always better for you to have friends in power, who at least have the *will* to confer benefits on you; and, whilst in power, they might find some opportunities of doing so, but hardly ever when sitting on the Opposition benches."

After many delays, Parliament was dissolved in July, and the elections for a new one commenced immediately afterwards, not only with all the excitement and interest consequent on such an event, but even with additional corruption, and bribes held out by some of the members of the Administration for the purpose of increasing the Tory, or rather Protection ranks. Upon the hustings, nearly all the members of the new Administration receded many steps from their previous principles; they showed that neither the repeal of the Corn Laws nor the introduction of the other liberal measures had done that amount of harm which they had anticipated. There might have

been, they added, some fortunate extraneous circumstances, such as the discovery of gold in California and Australia, &c., to counterbalance the evil effects of those measures ; but since it was really the case, it was no longer of any use trying to recall past events, and the only point the farmers now had to press for, was the reduction of excise duty on their own productions, such as malt, hops, &c., as well as the preservation of conservative principles in religion, the church, and other social institutions of a like character. By these means they certainly rendered their position less awkward, both in the country and in Parliament. They turned the contest from Free Trade to other less offensive points, and persuaded the farmers to change the cry of "*Corn Laws*" for that of a less violent character, viz., "*Reduced Taxes and Conservative Principles* generally."

The Derby Ministry hardly met with any opposition during the summer session, either in the items of the budget (which, by the bye, was in substance the same as that proposed by the late Government), or in the couple of bills they introduced, the Militia and Chancery Reform bills, owing to the over anxiety of the Opposition to bring the session to a close, while the

Government continually appealed to the indulgence of the House for the short time they were sitting, before the final appeal was made to the country, promising, almost at every stage, that the dissolution of Parliament was about to follow, and that as they, the Ministers, held office only provisionally, the session was not to be prolonged by any new motion or bill on their part, except those *essentially necessary* for the dispatch of public business. This last provision afforded them several opportunities of prolonging the session notwithstanding, under the plea of dispatch of *necessary business*.

The new elections, though no means, fair or foul, had been spared to secure a Protection majority in the House, proved anything but satisfactory to the Ministers. The Protectionists as before, remained in a great minority, and although they enlisted some new members under the vague banner of *Conservatism*, it was plain that they could not long hold ground in the House, and that nothing was left for the Derby Cabinet but either to resign place or principle. The latter they did, in preference, and the Address from the Throne at the opening of the new Parliament on the 4th of November, for the final settlement of the

Free Trade question, contained paragraphs, thanking Providence for the prosperity of trade, the cheapness of provisions, and the abundant employment of the labouring classes. These expressions were meant to save the Government from the humiliation of recanting their previous principles in plain terms. The House, however, on the motion of *Villiers*, insisted on the latter course, and after much quibbling with the terms, the Ministers and their followers (with the exception of fifty-two) crept through the yoke, and acknowledged in unequivocal terms that the country was prospering *in consequence* of the Free Trade principles which had been introduced within the last few years. Having thus set the question of Free Trade and Protection permanently at rest, the Ministers were allowed to bring in their budget, which however was delayed in consequence of the public funeral of the Duke of Wellington, which took place on the 18th of November, though his death occurred as early as the 10th of September.

The most objectionable item in the new budget, as proposed by D'Israeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, was the provision for repealing the Malt Tax, amounting to about

five millions sterling, for the benefit of the farmers. After many nights' debate and recriminating speeches, the budget was lost, on the 10th of December, by a majority of 19 votes (305 against 286), in consequence of which the Ministers tendered their resignation.

RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY,

IN

TABULAR ABSTRACTS.

Statistical Tables

IN

ILLUSTRATION OF THE CIVIL, POLITICAL, AND FINANCIAL
DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

TABLE I.

POPULATION *of the United Kingdom from 1801 to 1851.*

Years.	Population.
1801	16,338,102
1811	18,547,720
1821	21,193,458
1831	24,306,719
1841	26,895,518
1851	27,452,262

TABLE II.

TOTAL AMOUNT of the REVENUE and EXPENDITURE of the UNITED KINGDOM, with the SURPLUS or DEFICIENCY of REVENUE, from 1809 to 1853.

Years.	Net Revenue Paid into the Exchequer.	Expenditure out of Revenue Paid into the Exchequer.	Surplus of Revenue.	Deficiency of Revenue.
	£	£	£	£
1800	33,427,561	52,031,853	..	18,604,291
1801	31,851,465	51,140,097	..	19,288,631
1802	30,488,236	57,186,804	..	26,698,568
1803	34,404,178	47,389,447	..	12,985,269
1804	36,847,882	45,823,782	..	8,975,900
1805	44,278,384	56,159,263	..	11,880,878
1806	49,272,060	67,070,942	..	17,798,882
1807	53,896,980	65,421,802	..	11,524,822
1808	57,403,402	65,016,112	..	7,612,710
1809	60,751,973	70,645,218	..	9,893,245
1810	61,952,294	73,012,256	..	11,059,962
1811	67,449,645	77,961,400	..	10,511,755
1812	65,462,295	79,346,420	..	13,884,125
1813	63,203,192	88,925,507	..	25,722,315
1814	71,202,676	109,054,125	..	37,851,449
1815	72,151,281	106,901,336	..	34,750,054
1816	76,831,368	95,588,927	..	18,757,559
1817	64,292,490	63,440,597	851,893	..
1818	48,122,636	49,317,435	..	1,194,799
1819	49,420,509	48,488,720	931,788	..
1820	48,732,354	48,438,396	293,958	..
1821	50,926,468	50,259,032	667,436	..
1822	54,135,743	49,391,225	4,744,518	..
1823	52,755,564	48,454,817	4,300,747	..
1824	54,416,230	50,528,058	3,888,172	..
1825	52,347,674	49,298,518	3,049,156	..
1826	50,241,408	50,887,328	..	645,920
1827	50,241,658	51,068,333	..	826,675
1828	52,104,643	48,857,649	3,246,994	..
1829	50,786,682	49,075,132	1,711,550	..

TABLE II.—*continued.*

Years.	Net Revenue Paid into the Exchequer.	Expenditure out of Revenue Paid into the Exchequer.	Surplus of Revenue.	Deficiency of Revenue.
	£	£	£	£
1830	50,056,615	47,142,943	2,913,672	..
1831	46,424,440	47,123,298	..	698,858
1832	46,988,755	46,373,996	614,759	..
1833	46,271,326	44,758,243	1,513,083	..
1834	46,509,856	44,901,701	1,608,155	..
1835	46,043,663	44,422,722	1,620,941	..
1836	48,702,654	46,572,562	2,130,092	..
1837	46,475,194	47,130,954	..	655,760
1838	47,333,460	47,678,687	..	345,227
1839	47,844,898	49,357,691	..	1,512,793
1840	47,567,565	49,161,536	..	1,593,971
1841	48,084,359	50,185,729	..	2,101,370
1842	46,965,630	50,945,169	..	3,979,539
1843	52,582,817	51,139,513	1,443,304	..
1844	54,003,753	50,647,648	3,356,105	..
1845	53,060,354	49,242,713	3,817,641	..
1846	53,790,138	50,943,830	2,846,308	..
1847	51,546,264	54,502,948	..	2,956,684
1848	53,388,717	54,185,136	..	796,419
1849	52,951,749	50,853,623	2,098,126	..
1850	52,810,680	50,231,874	2,578,806	..
1851	52,233,006	49,506,610	2,726,396	..
1852	53,210,071	50,792,512	2,417,559	..
1853	54,430,344	51,174,839	3,255,505	..

TABLE III.

NET TOTAL AMOUNT of all TAXES REPEALED, EXPIRED, REDUCED, and IMPOSED, from 1815 to 1853.

Years.	Repealed, Expired, or Reduced.	Imposed.
	<i>Net.</i>	
	£	£
1815	222,749	423,937
1816	3,228,792	320,058
1817	36,495	7,991
1818	9,504	1,356
1819	705,846	3,094,902
1820	4,000	119,602
1821	471,309	42,642
1822	2,139,101	. .
1823	4,050,250	18,596
1824	1,704,724	45,605
1825	3,639,551	43,000
1826	1,973,812	188,725
1827	4,038	21,402
1828	51,998	1,966
1829	126,406	. .
1830	4,093,955	696,004
1831	1,598,537	627,586
1832	747,264	44,526
1833	1,526,914	. .
1834	2,064,516	198,394
1835	165,877	75
1836	989,786	3,991
1837	234	100

TABLE III.—*continued.*

Years.	Repealed, Expired, or Reduced.	Imposed.
	<i>Net.</i>	
	£	£
1838	289	1,733
1839	63,258	. .
1840	. .	2,155,673
1841	27,170	. .
1842	1,596,366	529,989
1843	411,821	. .
1844	458,810	. .
1845	4,546,306	53,720
1846	1,151,790	2,000
1847	344,886	. .
1848	585,968	84
1849	388,798	. .
1850	1,310,151	. .
1851	2,679,864	600,000
1852	95,928	. .
1853	3,247,474	3,356,383*

* This includes £2,000,000 estimated for the Succession Tax, but only a part thereof is chargeable to this year.

TABLE IV.

CAPITAL of the NATIONAL DEBT, from 1800 to 1853.

Years.	Funded.	Unfunded.
	£	£
1800	447,147,164	26,080,100
1801	497,043,448	20,588,100
1802	522,231,786	14,353,000
1803	528,260,641	17,862,600
1804	545,803,317	24,066,500
1805	573,529,931	26,089,400
1806	593,954,287	26,987,100
1807	601,733,073	31,669,900
1808	604,287,474	38,845,200
1809	614,789,091	39,066,100
1810	624,301,936	37,786,300
1811	635,583,448	40,907,800
1812	661,409,958	42,726,400
1813	740,023,535	44,654,800
1814	752,857,236	56,987,700
1815	816,311,940	41,441,900
1816	796,200,191	44,650,300
1817	776,742,403	56,729,400
1818	791,867,313	43,208,400
1819	794,980,481	36,303,200
1820	801,565,310	30,965,900
1821	795,312,767	31,566,550
1822	796,530,144	36,281,150
1823	791,701,614	34,741,750
1824	781,123,222	32,398,450
1825	778,128,267	27,994,200
1826	783,801,739	24,565,350
1827	777,476,892	27,546,850

TABLE IV.—*continued.*

Years.	Funded.	Unfunded.
	£	£
1828	772,322,540	27,657,000
1829	771,251,932	25,490,550
1830	757,486,996	27,271,650
1831	755,543,884	27,133,350
1832	754,100,549	27,278,000
1833	751,658,883	27,906,900
1834	743,675,299	28,521,550
1835	758,549,866	28,976,600
1836	761,422,570	26,976,800
1837	762,275,188	24,044,550
1838	761,347,690	24,026,050
1839	766,547,684	19,965,050
1840	766,371,725	21,076,350
1841	772,530,758	18,343,850
1842	773,068,340	18,182,100
1843	772,169,092	18,407,300
1844	769,193,645	18,404,500
1845	766,672,822	18,380,200
1846	764,608,284	18,310,700
1847	772,401,851	17,946,500
1848	774,022,638	17,786,700
1849	773,168,317	17,758,700
1850	769,272,562	17,756,600
1851	765,136,582	17,742,800
1852	761,622,704	17,742,500
1853	754,893,401	16,029,600

TABLE V.

STATEMENT of the VALUE of IMPORTS into, and of the EXPORTS from, the United Kingdom, during each of the Years from 1801 to 1853, both inclusive, calculated at the Official Rate of Valuation, and distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported from the Value of the Foreign and Colonial Merchandise exported: also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported therefrom, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.

Years.	Value of Imports into the United Kingdom, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.	Value of Exports from the United Kingdom, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.		Value of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported therefrom, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	
	£	£	£	£
1801	31,786,262	24,927,684	10,336,966	39,730,659*
1802	29,826,210	25,632,549	12,677,431	45,102,330*
1803	26,622,696	20,467,531	8,032,643	36,127,787*
1804	27,819,552	22,687,309	8,938,741	37,135,746*
1805	28,561,270	23,376,941	7,643,120	38,077,144
1806	26,899,658	25,861,879	7,717,555	40,874,983

* The Declared Value of British and Irish Produce, &c., exported from 1801 to 1804, applies to Great Britain only, the Real Value of Exports from Ireland not having been made previous to 1805. The Exports from Ireland are, however, of small amount.

TABLE V.—*continued.*

Years.	Value of Imports into the United Kingdom, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.	Value of Exports from the United Kingdom, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.		Value of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported therefrom, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	
	£	£	£	£
1807	26,734,425	23,391,214	7,624,312	37,245,877
1808	26,795,540	24,611,215	5,776,775	37,275,102
1809	31,750,557	33,542,274	12,750,358	47,371,392
1810	39,301,612	34,061,901	9,357,435	48,438,680
1811	26,510,186	22,681,400	6,117,720	32,890,712
1812	26,163,431	29,508,508	9,533,065	41,716,964
1813	Records destroyed by fire.		..	..
1814	33,755,264	34,207,253	19,365,981	45,494,219
1815	32,987,396	42,875,996	15,748,554	51,603,028
1816	27,431,604	35,717,070	13,480,780	41,657,873
1817	30,834,299	40,111,427	10,292,684	41,761,132
1818	36,885,182	42,700,521	10,859,817	46,603,248
1819	30,776,810	33,534,176	9,904,813	35,208,320
1820	32,438,650	38,395,625	10,555,912	36,424,652
1821	30,792,760	40,831,744	10,629,689	36,659,630
1822	30,531,141	44,242,532	9,227,567	36,966,023
1823	35,798,433	43,826,607	8,603,905	35,357,041
1824	37,468,279	48,730,467	10,204,785	38,422,404
1825	44,208,803	47,150,690	9,169,492	38,870,945
1826	37,813,890	40,965,736	10,076,287	31,536,723
1827	44,908,173	52,221,934	9,830,821	37,181,335
1828	45,167,443	52,788,089	9,946,546	36,812,757
1829	43,995,286	56,217,962	10,620,165	35,842,623
1830	46,300,473	61,152,354	8,548,394	38,271,597
1831	49,727,828	60,686,364	10,745,126	37,164,372
1832	44,610,546	65,025,278	11,044,870	36,450,594
1833	45,944,426	69,987,357	9,833,753	39,667,348
1834	49,364,733	73,835,231	11,562,037	41,649,191
1835	49,029,334	78,360,059	12,797,724	47,372,270
1836	57,296,045	85,220,144	12,391,712	53,293,979
1837	54,762,285	72,544,071	13,235,497	42,069,245
1838	61,358,013	92,453,967	12,711,512	50,061,737
1839	62,048,121	97,394,666	12,795,990	53,233,580
1840	67,492,710	102,706,850	13,774,165	51,406,430

TABLE V.—*continued.*

Years.	Value of Imports into the United Kingdom, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.	Value of Exports from the United Kingdom, calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation.		Value of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom, Exported therefrom, according to the Real or Declared Value thereof.
		Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom.	Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	
	£	£	£	£
1841	64,444,268	102,179,514	14,723,373	51,634,623
1842	65,253,286	100,255,380	13,586,422	47,381,023
1843	70,214,912	117,876,659	13,956,288	52,279,709
1844	75,449,374	131,558,477	14,398,177	58,584,292
1845	85,297,508	134,598,584	16,279,318	60,111,082
1846	75,934,022	132,312,894	16,296,162	57,786,876
1847	90,921,866	126,131,029	20,040,979	58,842,377
1848	93,547,134	132,619,154	18,376,886	52,849,445
1849	105,874,607	164,539,504	25,561,890	63,596,025
1850	100,460,433	175,437,098	21,893,167	71,367,885
1851	110,679,125	190,658,314	23,732,703	74,448,722
1852	109,345,409	196,216,610	23,329,089	78,049,367
1853	123,136,835	214,360,489	27,767,733	98,933,781

TABLE VI.

STATEMENT of the TOTAL TONNAGE, distinguishing British from Foreign, entered and cleared at Ports in the United Kingdom, from 1801 to 1853 inclusive (exclusive of the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland and the Coasting Trade.)

Years.	Entered Inwards.			Cleared Outwards.		
	British.	Foreign.	Total.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
1801	922,594	780,155	1,702,749	..	..	..
1802	1,333,005	480,251	1,813,256	1,177,224	457,580	1,634,804
1803	1,115,702	638,104	1,753,806	950,787	574,420	1,525,207
1804	904,932	607,299	1,512,231	906,007	587,849	1,493,856
1805	953,250	691,883	1,645,133	971,496	605,821	1,577,317
1806	904,367	612,904	1,517,271	899,574	568,170	1,467,744
1807	..	680,144	..	..	631,910	..
1808	..	283,657	..	..	282,145	..
1809	938,675	759,287	1,697,962	950,565	699,750	1,650,315
1810	896,001	1,176,243	2,072,244	860,632	1,138,527	1,999,159
1811	..	687,180	..	..	..	..
1812	..	..	..	..	..	..
1813	..	..	..	..	..	..
1814	1,290,248	599,287	1,889,535	1,271,952	602,941	2,874,893
1815	1,372,108	746,985	2,119,093	1,398,688	751,377	2,150,065
1816	1,415,723	379,465	1,795,188	1,340,277	399,160	1,739,437
1817	1,625,121	445,011	2,070,132	1,558,336	440,622	1,998,958
1818	1,886,394	762,457	2,648,851	1,715,488	734,649	2,450,137
1819	1,809,128	542,684	2,351,812	1,562,332	556,511	2,118,843
1820	1,668,060	447,611	2,115,671	1,549,508	433,328	1,982,836
1821	1,599,274	396,256	1,995,530	1,488,644	383,786	1,872,430
1822	1,663,627	469,151	2,132,778	1,539,260	457,542	1,996,802
1823	1,740,859	582,996	2,323,855	1,546,976	563,571	2,110,547
1824	1,797,089	759,672	2,566,761	1,657,270	746,729	2,403,999

TABLE VI.—*continued.*

Years.	Entered Inwards.			Cleared Outwards.		
	British.	Foreign.	Total.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
1825	2,143,317	959,312	3,102,629	1,793,842	906,066	2,699,908
1826	1,950,630	694,116	2,644,746	1,737,425	692,440	2,429,865
1827	2,086,898	751,864	2,838,762	1,887,682	767,821	2,655,503
1828	2,094,357	634,620	2,728,977	2,006,397	608,118	2,614,515
1829	2,184,535	710,303	2,894,838	2,063,179	730,250	2,793,429
1830	2,180,042	758,828	2,938,870	2,102,147	758,368	2,860,515
1831	2,367,322	874,605	3,241,927	2,300,731	896,051	3,196,782
1832	2,185,980	639,979	2,825,959	2,229,269	651,223	2,880,492
1833	2,183,814	762,085	2,945,899	2,244,274	758,601	3,002,875
1834	2,298,263	833,905	3,132,168	2,296,325	852,827	3,149,152
1835	2,442,734	866,990	3,309,724	2,419,941	905,270	3,325,211
1836	2,505,473	988,899	3,494,372	2,531,577	1,035,120	3,566,697
1837	2,617,166	1,005,940	3,623,106	2,547,227	1,036,738	3,583,965
1838	2,785,387	1,211,666	3,997,053	2,876,236	1,222,803	4,099,039
1839	3,101,650	1,331,365	4,433,015	3,096,611	1,398,096	4,494,707
1840	3,197,501	1,460,294	4,657,795	3,292,984	1,488,888	4,781,872
1841	3,361,211	1,291,165	4,652,376	3,429,279	1,336,892	4,766,171
1842	3,294,725	1,205,303	4,500,028	3,375,270	1,252,176	4,627,446
1843	3,545,346	1,301,950	4,847,296	3,635,833	1,341,433	4,977,266
1844	3,647,463	1,402,138	5,049,601	3,852,822	1,444,346	5,297,168
1845	4,310,639	1,735,079	6,045,718	4,235,451	1,796,136	6,031,587
1846	4,294,733	1,806,282	6,101,015	4,393,415	1,921,156	6,314,571
1847	4,942,094	2,253,939	7,196,033	4,770,370	2,312,793	7,083,163
1848	4,565,533	1,960,412	6,525,945	4,724,027	2,056,654	6,780,681
1849	4,884,210	2,035,690	6,919,900	4,785,428	2,299,060	7,084,488
1850	4,700,199	2,400,277	7,100,476	4,742,345	2,662,243	7,404,588
1851	4,938,386	2,933,708	7,872,094	4,882,490	3,225,614	8,108,104
1852	4,934,863	2,952,584	7,887,447	5,051,106	3,191,596	8,242,702
1853	5,055,343	3,887,763	8,943,106	5,212,980	4,234,124	9,447,104

TABLE VII.

STATEMENT of the TONNAGE belonging to the United Kingdom (including Guernsey, Jersey, and Man), from 1800 to 1853.

Years.	Tons.	Years.	Tons.
1800	1,698,811	1827	2,181,138
1801	1,786,325	1828	2,193,300
1802	1,901,162	1829	2,199,959
1803	1,986,076	1830	2,201,592
1804	2,066,061	1831	2,224,356
1805	2,092,489	1832	2,261,860
1806	2,079,914	1833	2,271,301
1807	2,096,827	1834	2,312,355
1808	2,130,396	1835	2,360,303
1809	2,167,221	1836	2,349,749
1810	2,210,661	1837	2,333,521
1811	2,247,322	1838	2,420,759
1812	2,268,731	1839	2,570,635
1813	2,348,843	1840	2,768,262
1814	2,414,170	1841	2,935,399
1815	2,477,831	1842	3,041,420
1816	2,504,297	1843	3,007,581
1817	2,421,354	1844	3,044,392
1818	2,452,608	1845	3,123,180
1819	2,451,597	1846	3,199,785
1820	2,439,029	1847	3,307,921
1821	2,355,852	1848	3,400,809
1822	2,315,403	1849	3,485,958
1823	2,302,867	1850	3,565,133
1824	2,348,314	1851	3,662,344
1825	2,327,341	1852	3,759,278
1826	2,461,461	1853	4,030,204

TABLE VIII.

NEW VESSELS BUILT.

STATEMENT of the NUMBER and TONNAGE of SHIPS
BUILT and REGISTERED in the Ports of the United
Kingdom, including the Channel Islands, in each
Year, from 1800 to 1853, both inclusive.

Years.	Number of Vessels Built.	Amount of Tonnage.	Years.	Number of Vessels Built.	Amount of Tonnage.
1800	..	..	1827	911	95,038
1801	..	..	1828	857	90,069
1802	..	..	1829	734	77,635
1803	..	..	1830	750	77,411
1804	..	..	1831	760	85,707
1805	..	..	1832	759	92,735
1806	} Cannot be stated.	..	1833	728	92,171
1807			1834	806	102,710
1808			1835	916	121,722
1809			1836	709	89,636
1810			1837	1,005	135,922
1811	..	..	1838	1,147	161,459
1812	..	..	1839	1,278	186,903
1813	..	..	1840	1,448	220,064
1814	706	86,075	1841	1,192	168,309
1815	912	102,903	1842	971	133,275
1816	852	84,676	1843	736	85,373
1817	758	81,210	1844	731	96,876
1818	753	86,911	1845	890	124,919
1819	775	88,985	1846	841	127,498
1820	635	68,142	1847	981	149,924
1821	597	59,482	1848	878	125,940
1822	571	51,533	1849	771	121,266
1823	604	63,788	1850	725	137,530
1824	837	93,219	1851	702	152,563
1825	1,003	124,029	1852	742	170,424
1826	1,139	120,534	1853	..	..

TABLE IX.

STATEMENT of the QUANTITY of WHEAT and WHEAT FLOUR imported into the United Kingdom in each Year, from 1800 to 1852.

Years.	Quantities imported into the United Kingdom. (Quarters.)			Quantities admitted for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom. (Quarters.)			Annual Average Price per Imperial Quarter.	Average Rate of Duty paid per Quarter.	
	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.		Foreign.	Colonial.
1800	1,267,858	25,608	1,293,466	..	..	..	s. 113 10 d. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	s. 0 d. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	s. d. ..
1801	1,358,838	68,622	1,427,460	..	..	..	119 6	0 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	..
1802	465,211	77,160	542,371	..	..	..	69 10	0 6 $\frac{1}{8}$	..
1803	269,732	44,473	314,205	..	..	..	58 10	0 7	..
1804	370,050	21,214	391,264	..	..	..	62 3	0 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	..
1805	835,293	2,252	837,545	..	..	..	89 9	0 7 $\frac{7}{8}$	..
1806	198,280	9,801	208,081	..	..	..	79 1	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	..
1807	336,261	27,259	363,520	..	..	..	75 4	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	..
1808	23,421	18,489	41,910	..	..	..	81 4	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	..
1809	373,686	20,855	394,541	..	..	..	97 4	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	..
1810	1,414,844	25,133	1,439,977	..	..	..	106 5	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	..
1811	188,434	352	188,786	..	..	..	95 3	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	..
1812	105,098	26,517	131,615	..	..	..	126 6	0 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	..

TABLE IX.—*continued.*

Years.	Quantities imported into the United Kingdom. (Quarters.)			Quantities admitted for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom. (Quarters.)			Annual Average Price per Imperial Quarter.	Average Rate of Duty paid per Quarter.	
	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.		Foreign.	Colonial.
1813	340,180	1	340,181	..	..	..	s. 109 9	s. 0	s. d. ..
1814	623,760	..	623,760	623,086	..	623,086	d. 74 4	0 9 $\frac{2}{3}$	..
1815	191,607	25	191,632	116,382	..	116,382	s. 65 7	0 9 $\frac{2}{3}$	..
1816	209,652	3	209,655	225,260	3	225,263	d. 78 6	1 4	..
1817	1,033,931	30,100	1,064,031	1,023,862	30,080	1,053,942	s. 96 11	..	..
1818	1,538,165	55,655	1,593,820	1,550,606	55,674	1,606,280	d. 86 3	..	..
1819	460,897	11,306	472,203	115,697	9,161	124,858	s. 74 6	..	..
1820	544,646	40,779	585,425	1,056	33,219	34,275	d. 67 10	..	..
1821	88,992	40,620	129,612	..	9	9	s. 56 1	..	..
1822	19,849	23,264	43,113	..	2	2	d. 44 7	..	..
1823	15,536	210	15,746	51	12,137	12,188	s. 53 4	..	17 0
1824	81,776	891	82,667	914	15,778	16,692	d. 63 11	..	12 0
1825	290,399	94,204	384,603	399,297	127,710	527,007	s. 68 6	10 0	5 0
1826	549,544	27,344	576,888	287,338	29,300	316,638	d. 58 8	12 0	5 0
1827	247,116	57,089	304,205	519,268	57,439	576,707	s. 56 8	22 11	5 0
1828	722,459	18,655	741,114	821,794	20,153	841,947	d. 60 5	1 9	4 7
1829	1,652,181	11,160	1,663,341	1,355,690	8,650	1,364,340	s. 66 3	9 3	1 6
1830	1,584,562	77,285	1,661,847	1,642,266	60,171	1,702,437	d. 64 3	6 7	0 10

TABLE X.

A RETURN of the Annual Average Gazette Price of
WHEAT, BARLEY, and OATS, in each Year since
1800, inclusive.

Years.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1800	113 10	59 10	39 4
1801	119 6	68 6	37 0
1802	69 10	33 4	20 4
1803	58 10	25 4	21 6
1804	62 3	31 0	24 3
1805	80 9	44 6	28 4
1806	79 1	38 8	27 7
1807	75 4	39 4	28 4
1808	81 4	43 5	33 4
1809	97 4	47 0	31 5
1810	106 5	48 1	28 7
1811	95 3	42 3	27 7
1812	126 6	66 9	44 6
1813	109 9	58 6	38 6
1814	74 4	37 4	25 8
1815	65 7	30 3	23 7
1816	78 6	33 11	27 2
1817	96 11	49 4	32 5
1818	86 3	53 10	32 5
1819	74 6	45 9	28 2
1820	67 10	33 10	24 2
1821	56 1	26 0	19 6
1822	44 7	21 10	18 1
1823	53 4	31 6	22 11
1824	63 11	36 4	24 10
1825	68 6	40 0	25 8
1826	58 8	34 4	26 8
1827	58 6	37 7	28 2
1828	60 5	32 10	22 6
1829	66 3	32 6	22 9
1830	64 3	32 7	24 5

TABLE X.—*continued.*

Years.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1831	66 4	38 0	25 4
1832	58 8	33 1	20 5
1833	52 11	27 6	18 5
1834	46 2	29 0	20 11
1835	39 4	29 11	22 0
1836	48 6	32 10	23 1
1837	55 10	30 4	23 1
1838	64 7	31 5	22 5
1839	70 8	39 6	25 11
1840	66 4	36 5	25 8
1841	64 4	32 10	22 5
1842	57 3	27 6	19 3
1843	50 1	29 6	18 4
1844	51 3	33 8	20 7
1845	50 10	31 8	22 6
1846	54 8	32 8	23 8
1847	69 9	44 2	28 8
1848	50 6	31 6	20 6
1849	44 3	27 9	17 6
1850	40 3	23 5	16 5
1851	38 6	24 9	18 7
1852	40 9	28 6	19 1
1853	53 3	33 2	21 0

TABLE XI.

AMOUNT of GOLD, SILVER, and COPPER MONEYS
COINED at the ROYAL MINT.

Years.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.
	£	£	£
1800	} Cannot be specified.
1801	450,242	53	
1802	437,018	62	
1803	596,444	72	
1804	718,397	77	
1805	54,668	183	
1806	405,105	Nil.	
1807	Nil.	108	
1808	371,744	Nil.	
1809	298,946	115	
1810	316,935	121	
1811	312,263	Nil.	
1812	Nil.	52	
1813	519,722	90	
1814	Nil.	161	
1815	..	Nil.	} Nil.
1816	..	1,805,251	
1817	4,275,337	2,436,298	
1818	2,862,373	576,279	
1819	3,574	1,267,273	
1820	949,516	847,717	
1821	9,520,758	433,686	2,800
1822	5,356,787	31,430	43,355
1823	759,748	285,272	32,480
1824	4,065,075	282,070	Nil.
1825	4,580,919	417,535	9,408
1826	5,896,461	608,606	50,400
1827	2,512,636	33,020	19,712
1828	1,008,559	16,288	2,464
1829	2,446,754	108,260	1,568
1830	2,389,881	151	2,464
1831	587,949	33,696	7,392

TABLE XI.—*continued.*

Years.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.
	£	£	£
1832	3,730,757	145	448
1833	1,225,269	145	Nil.
1834	66,949	432,775	3,136
1835	1,109,718	146,665	2,688
1836	1,787,782	497,719	1,792
1837	1,253,088	75,385	4,592
1838	2,855,364	174,042	1,568
1839	504,310	390,654	5,040
1840	Nil.	216,414	3,136
1841	378,472	96,175	8,848
1842	5,977,051	192,852	1,764
1843	6,607,849	276,606	10,080
1844	3,563,949	626,670	7,246
1845	4,244,608	647,658	6,944
1846	4,334,911	559,548	6,496
1847	5,158,440	125,730	8,960
1848	2,451,999	35,442	2,688
1849	2,177,955	119,592	1,792
1850	1,491,836	129,096	448
1851	4,400,411	87,868	3,584
1852	8,742,270	189,596	4,312
1853	11,952,391	701,544	10,190

TABLE XII.

STATEMENT of the AVERAGE PRICE of GOLD in
England, in each Year, from 1800 to 1850.

Years.	Average Price of the Year.	Years.	Average Price of the Year.
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1800	3 17 9	1826	3 17 6
1801	..	1827	3 17 6
1802	..	1828	3 17 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
1803	..	1829	3 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1804	4 0 0	1830	3 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1805	4 0 0	1831	3 17 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
1806	..	1832	3 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1807	..	1833	3 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1808	..	1834	3 17 9
1809	..	1835	3 17 9
1810	4 4 4	1836	3 17 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1811	4 15 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	1837	3 17 9
1812	5 1 0	1838	3 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1813	5 6 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1839	3 17 11
1814	4 17 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1840	3 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1815	4 11 2	1841	} 3 17 9
1816	4 0 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1842	
1817	3 19 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1843	
1818	4 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1844	
1819	3 18 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1845	
1820	3 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1846	
1821	3 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1847	
1822	3 17 8	1848	
1823	3 17 6	1849	
1824	3 17 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1850	
1825	3 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$		

TABLE XIII.
QUANTITIES of RAW COTTON IMPORTED into the United Kingdom from various Countries.

Years.	The United States.	Brazil.	The Mediter- ranean.	British Possessions in the East Indies.	British West Indies and British Guiana.	Other Countries.	Total.
1800 }	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1801	56,010,732
1802	56,004,305
1803	60,345,600
1804	53,812,284
1805	61,867,329
1806	59,682,406
1807	58,176,283
1808	Not specified.	..	..	..	74,925,306
1809	43,605,982
1810	92,812,282
1811	136,488,935
1812	91,576,535
1813	61,285,024
1814 }	50,966,000
							53,777,802

TABLE XIII.—*continued.*

Years.	The United States.	Brazil.	The Mediter- ranean.	British Possessions in the East Indies.	British West Indies and British Guiana.	Other Countries.	Total.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1815	54,407,299	13,104,267	30,466	7,175,243	15,341,197	10,650,674	100,709,146
1816	51,291,997	20,131,581	239,966	6,972,790	12,731,822	3,912,809	95,280,965
1817	60,695,293	16,338,861	44,532	31,007,570	9,743,605	8,473,828	126,303,689
1818	68,217,656	24,987,979	1,109,982	67,456,411	11,249,851	5,723,698	178,745,577
1819	62,412,654	20,860,865	186,864	58,856,261	7,050,753	1,785,757	151,153,154
1820	89,999,174	29,198,155	472,684	23,125,825	6,836,816	2,040,001	151,672,655
1821	93,470,745	19,535,786	1,131,567	8,827,107	7,138,980	2,432,435	132,536,620
1822	101,031,766	24,705,206	518,804	4,554,225	10,295,114	1,732,513	142,837,628
1823	142,532,112	23,514,641	1,492,413	14,839,117	7,034,793	1,989,427	191,402,503
1824	92,187,662	24,849,552	8,699,924	16,420,005	6,269,306	953,673	149,380,122
1825	139,908,699	33,180,491	22,698,075	20,005,872	8,193,948	4,018,206	228,005,291
1826	130,858,203	9,871,092	10,308,617	20,985,135	4,751,070	833,284	177,607,401
1827	216,924,812	20,716,162	5,372,562	20,930,542	7,165,881	1,338,950	272,448,909
1828	151,752,289	29,143,279	7,039,574	32,187,901	5,893,800	1,743,799	227,760,642
1829	157,187,396	28,878,386	6,049,597	24,857,800	4,640,414	1,153,818	222,767,411
1830	210,885,358	33,092,072	3,428,798	12,481,761	3,429,247	644,216	263,961,452
1831	219,333,628	31,695,761	8,460,559	25,805,153	2,401,685	978,067	288,674,853
1832	219,756,753	20,109,560	9,163,692	35,178,625	2,040,428	583,467	286,832,525
1833	237,506,758	28,463,821	1,020,268	32,755,164	2,084,862	1,825,964	303,656,837

1834	269,203,075	19,291,396	1,681,625	32,920,865	2,293,794	1,484,670	326,875,425
1835	284,455,812	24,986,409	8,451,630	41,429,011	1,815,270	2,564,831	363,702,963
1836	289,615,692	27,501,272	8,226,029	75,949,845	1,714,337	3,951,882	406,959,057
1837	320,651,716	20,940,145	9,326,979	51,532,072	1,595,702	3,240,169	407,286,783
1838	431,437,888	24,464,505	6,409,466	40,217,734	1,529,356	3,791,628	507,850,577
1839	311,597,798	16,971,979	6,429,671	47,172,939	1,248,164	5,976,008	389,396,559
1840	487,856,504	14,779,171	8,324,937	77,011,839	866,157	3,649,402	592,488,010
1841	358,240,964	16,671,348	9,097,180	97,388,153	1,533,197	5,061,513	487,992,355
1842	414,030,779	15,222,828	4,489,017	92,972,609	593,603	4,441,250	531,750,086
1843	574,738,520	18,675,123	9,674,076	65,709,729	1,260,444	3,135,224	673,193,116
1844	517,218,622	21,084,744	12,406,327	88,639,776	1,707,194	5,054,641	646,111,304
1845	626,650,412	20,157,633	14,614,699	58,437,426	1,394,447	725,336	721,979,953
1846	401,949,393	14,746,321	14,278,447	34,540,143	1,201,857	1,140,113	467,856,274
1847	364,599,291	19,966,922	4,814,268	83,934,614	793,933	598,587	474,707,615
1848	600,247,488	19,971,378	7,231,861	84,101,961	640,437	827,036	713,020,161
1849	634,504,050	30,738,133	17,369,843	70,838,515	944,307	1,074,164	755,469,012
1850	493,153,112	30,299,982	18,931,414	118,872,742	228,913	2,090,698	663,576,861
1851	596,638,962	19,339,104	16,950,525	122,626,976	446,529	1,377,653	757,379,749
1852	765,630,544	26,506,144	48,058,640	84,922,432	703,696	3,960,992	929,782,448
1853	658,451,796	24,190,628	28,353,574	181,848,160	844,060	2,078,562	895,266,780

TABLE XIV.

STATEMENT of the QUANTITIES of WOOL (Sheep, Lamb, and Alpaca) IMPORTED into the United Kingdom from various Countries, from 1800 to 1853.

Years.	Total.	Years.	Total.
	lbs.		lbs.
1800	..	1827	29,115,341
1801	7,371,774	1828	30,236,059
1802	7,669,798	1829	21,616,649
1803	5,904,740	1830	32,305,314
1804	7,921,595	1831	31,652,029
1805	8,069,793	1832	28,142,489
1806	6,775,636	1833	38,076,413
1807	11,487,050	1834	46,455,232
1808	2,284,482	1835	42,604,656
1809	6,758,954	1836	64,239,977
1810	10,914,137	1837	48,379,708
1811	4,732,782	1838	52,594,355
1812	6,983,575	1839	57,379,923
1813	..	1840	49,436,284
1814	15,492,311	1841	56,170,974
1815	13,640,375	1842	45,881,639
1816	7,517,886	1843	49,243,093
1817	14,061,772	1844	65,713,761
1818	24,749,570	1845	76,813,855
1819	16,100,970	1846	65,255,462
1820	9,775,605	1847	62,592,598
1821	16,622,567	1848	70,864,847
1822	19,058,080	1849	76,768,647
1823	19,366,725	1850	74,326,778
1824	22,564,485	1851	83,311,975
1825	43,816,966	1852	93,761,458
1826	15,989,112	1853	119,395,445

TABLE XV.

FISHERIES.

TOTAL QUANTITY of WHITE HERRINGS Cured, Branded, and Exported, in so far as the same have been brought under the cognizance of the Officers of the Fishery, from the 1st of June, 1809, when the system hitherto in force for the Encouragement and Improvement of the British Herring Fishery took place, to the 31st of December, 1853; distinguishing each Year as under, and the countries to which they have been Exported.

Years.	Total Quantity of Herrings Cured.			Total Quantity of Herrings Branded.	Total Quantity of Herrings Exported.			Grand Total Exported.
	Gutted.	Ungutted including Bulk.	Total Cured.		To Ireland.	To other Places in Europe.	To Places out of Europe.	
Period extending from 1st June, 1809, to 5th April, 1810	Barrels.	Bls. or Crans.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Bls. or Crans.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.
Year ended 5th April, 1811	42,548	47,637½	90,185½	34,701	28,014	7,834	35,848	
" " " " " "	65,430	26,397½	91,827½	55,662½	28,212	9,921	38,133	
" " " " " "	72,515½	39,004	111,519½	58,430	30,417½	27,672½	62,820	
" " " " " "	89,900¾	68,587½	153,488¾	70,027½	57,980	40,699	109,725½	
" " " " " "	52,931½	57,611	110,542½	38,184½	43,061½	51,399	118,403½	
" " " " " "	105,372¼	54,767	160,139¼	83,376	49,635¾	55,778½	141,305¾	
" " " " " "	135,981	26,670¾	162,651¾	116,436	29,456¾	62,668½	107,688	

TABLE XV.—continued.

Years.	Total Quantity of Herrings Cured.			Total Quantity of Herrings Branded.	Total Quantity of Herrings Exported.			Grand Total Exported.
	Gutted.	Ungutted including Bulk.	Total Cured.		To Ireland.	To other Places in Europe.	To Places out of Europe.	
Year ended 5th April, 1817	<i>Barrels.</i> 155,776	<i>Bls. or Crans.</i> 36,567½	<i>Barrels.</i> 192,343½	<i>Barrels.</i> 140,018½	<i>Bls. or Crans.</i> 36,341	<i>Barrels.</i> 44,432½	<i>Barrels.</i> 57,855	<i>Barrels.</i> 138,628½
" " 1818	204,270½	23,420¼	227,691	183,089½	53,386½	43,896	65,057	162,339½
" " 1819	303,777½	37,116½	340,894	270,022½	89,704	52,333	85,125	227,162
" " 1820	347,190½	35,301	382,491½	309,700½	101,109½	64,302½	88,104	253,516
" " 1821	413,308	28,887¾	442,195¾	363,872	125,445	89,524	79,836½	294,805½
" " 1822	291,626½	24,897¾	316,524½	263,205½	102,719	34,752	77,485	214,956
" " 1823	225,037	23,832	248,869	203,110	56,528	38,002½	75,914½	170,445
" " 1824	335,450	56,740¾	392,190¾	299,631	116,747½	40,231	82,652	239,630½
" " 1825	303,397	44,268¼	347,665¼	270,844½	96,409½	35,029½	70,577½	202,016½
" " 1826	340,118	39,115¾	379,233¾	294,422½	121,386½	28,167¾	67,519	217,073¼
" " 1827	259,171¼	29,324	288,495¼	223,606	78,735	16,701	70,970	166,406
" " 1828	339,360	60,418	399,778	279,317½	109,108½	24,489½	78,061	211,659
" " 1829	300,242½	55,737	355,979½	234,827	107,651	28,280½	69,944	205,875½
" " 1830	280,933½	48,623½	329,557	218,418½	89,680½	24,302	67,672	181,654½
" " 1831	371,096	68,274¼	439,370¼	237,085	130,300½	61,655½	72,947	264,903
" " 1832	313,113¾	49,547	362,660¾	157,839½	128,458	31,100¼	57,941½	217,499¾
" " 1833	353,684½	63,279¾	416,964¼	168,359½	114,137	47,556½	58,991	220,684½
" " 1834	382,677¾	68,853¾	451,531¼	178,000¼	149,254	55,852	66,987½	272,093½
" " 1835	217,242½	60,074½	277,317	85,079½	73,960	34,050	50,795½	158,805½

"	1836	399,334	98,280 $\frac{3}{4}$	497,614 $\frac{3}{4}$	192,317	168,960	48,451 $\frac{1}{2}$	55,982	273,393 $\frac{1}{2}$
"	1837	290,169	107,660 $\frac{1}{4}$	397,829 $\frac{1}{4}$	114,192	102,968 $\frac{1}{2}$	46,777	39,520	189,265 $\frac{1}{2}$
"	1838	382,400	125,374 $\frac{3}{4}$	507,774 $\frac{3}{4}$	141,552	139,095	57,388 $\frac{1}{2}$	38,674 $\frac{1}{4}$	235,158
"	1839	382,229	173,330 $\frac{3}{4}$	555,559 $\frac{3}{4}$	153,659 $\frac{1}{2}$	149,926	64,870	24,934 $\frac{1}{2}$	239,730 $\frac{1}{2}$
"	1840	405,379 $\frac{1}{2}$	138,565 $\frac{1}{2}$	543,945	152,231	157,359	82,515 $\frac{1}{2}$	12,647 $\frac{1}{2}$	252,522
"	1841	431,157	126,105 $\frac{1}{4}$	557,262 $\frac{1}{4}$	154,189	150,517 $\frac{1}{2}$	90,951 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,668 $\frac{1}{4}$	250,137
"	1842	489,620 $\frac{1}{2}$	177,624 $\frac{3}{4}$	667,245 $\frac{1}{4}$	190,922 $\frac{1}{2}$	187,953	91,069 $\frac{1}{2}$	5,713 $\frac{1}{2}$	284,736
"	1843	442,290	181,129 $\frac{3}{4}$	623,419 $\frac{3}{4}$	162,713	165,327 $\frac{1}{2}$	120,136 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,336 $\frac{1}{4}$	291,800 $\frac{1}{4}$
"	1844	473,556 $\frac{1}{4}$	191,803	665,359 $\frac{3}{4}$	182,988	127,770	181,953	3,793 $\frac{1}{2}$	313,516 $\frac{1}{2}$
Period extending from 5th									
April, 1844, to 5th Ja-		393,312	132,720 $\frac{3}{4}$	526,032 $\frac{3}{4}$	140,632	120,293	143,754	2,326 $\frac{1}{2}$	266,373 $\frac{1}{2}$
nuary, 1845									
Year ended 5th Jan.,	1846	411,271	121,375	532,646	142,473 $\frac{1}{2}$	127,027 $\frac{1}{2}$	113,678	2,488 $\frac{1}{4}$	243,194
"	1847	414,915 $\frac{1}{4}$	192,535 $\frac{3}{4}$	607,451	156,278 $\frac{1}{2}$	102,585	148,363 $\frac{1}{2}$	4,765 $\frac{1}{2}$	255,714
"	1848	372,989 $\frac{1}{2}$	189,754	562,743 $\frac{1}{2}$	146,500 $\frac{1}{2}$	102,690	142,532	4,959	250,181
"	1849	392,827	251,541 $\frac{1}{4}$	644,368 $\frac{1}{4}$	153,944	78,262 $\frac{1}{2}$	168,049	3,682 $\frac{1}{2}$	249,994
"	1850	507,024 $\frac{1}{2}$	263,673 $\frac{3}{4}$	770,698 $\frac{1}{4}$	213,286 $\frac{1}{2}$	78,889 $\frac{3}{4}$	257,108	4,258 $\frac{1}{2}$	340,256 $\frac{1}{4}$
* Do. 1851, (for Scotland									
and the Isle of Man only)		378,187	165,822 $\frac{1}{2}$	544,009 $\frac{1}{2}$	172,924 $\frac{1}{2}$	66,138	198,403	2,367	266,908
Do. 1852, do., do.		417,233 $\frac{1}{4}$	176,797 $\frac{3}{4}$	594,031	201,636 $\frac{1}{2}$	81,340 $\frac{1}{2}$	182,659	205	264,204 $\frac{1}{2}$
Do. 31st December, 1852,									
for do., do.		375,693	123,094 $\frac{1}{2}$	498,787 $\frac{1}{2}$	169,159 $\frac{1}{2}$	60,414	221,979	1,133	283,526
Do. 1853, for do., do. . . .		560,367	217,672 $\frac{3}{4}$	778,039 $\frac{3}{4}$	248,136 $\frac{1}{2}$	95,339	242,853 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,438 $\frac{1}{2}$	342,630 $\frac{3}{4}$

N.B.—In the Six Years ending 5th April, 1815, the Bounty on Herrings Cured Guttled, was 2s. per Barrel, while there was a Bounty at the same time of 2s. 8d. per Barrel, payable by the Excise on the Exportation of Herrings, whether Cured Guttled or Unguttled, but which ceased on the 1st June, 1815; in the Eleven Years ending 5th April, 1826, the Bounty on Herrings Cured Guttled was 4s. per Barrel; in the Four succeeding Years, the Bounty was reduced 1s. per Barrel each Year till the 5th of April, 1830, when it ceased altogether, and has not since been renewed.

* The Collection of Returns for England ceased from the 5th of January, 1850.

TABLE XVI.

TOTAL QUANTITY OF COD, LING, OR HAKE, CURED, PUNCHED, OR BRANDED, AND EXPORTED, *in so far as the same have been brought under the cognizance of the Officers of the Fishery*, from the 10th of October, 1820, when the system hitherto in force for the Encouragement and Improvement of the Cod and Ling Fishery took place, to the 31st of December, 1853, distinguishing each Year.

Years.	Total Quantity of Cod, Ling, or Hake Cured.		Total Quantity of Cod, Ling, or Hake Punched or Branded.		Total Quantity of Cod, Ling, or Hake Exported.	
	Cured in Pickle.		Cured in Pickle.		Cured in Pickle.	
	Cuts.	Barrels.	Cuts.	Barrels.	Cuts.	Barrels.
Period extending from } 10th October, 1820, to } 5th April, 1822 . . . }	..	..	50,235 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,919 $\frac{1}{2}$	19,578	..
Year ended 5th April, 1823	..	..	54,573	3,691	19,398	..
" " 1824	..	..	63,590	5,437	23,098	..
" " 1825	..	..	52,135	3,531	14,087	..
" " 1826	69,136 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,634 $\frac{3}{4}$	66,315 $\frac{3}{4}$	5,337	7,281	..
" " 1827	95,161 $\frac{1}{2}$	9,273	82,185 $\frac{3}{4}$	8,008 $\frac{1}{2}$	14,051	..

"	1828	82,515 $\frac{1}{4}$	6,726 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,142 $\frac{1}{2}$	74,103 $\frac{3}{4}$	5,609 $\frac{1}{2}$	13,208	..
"	1829	81,321 $\frac{1}{4}$	5,786	6,819	73,500	6,204	20,587	..
"	1830	101,914	5,652 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,836 $\frac{1}{2}$	92,314	8,464	16,369	..
"	1831	37,674	..	2,950 $\frac{1}{2}$	34,337	2,459 $\frac{1}{2}$	11,920	..
"	1832	50,293	..	3,779 $\frac{1}{2}$	13,879 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,230	20,168	47
"	1833	58,461	..	6,467 $\frac{1}{2}$	13,581 $\frac{1}{4}$	4,393 $\frac{1}{2}$	14,754	67
"	1834	52,710 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	5,522 $\frac{1}{2}$	14,255	3,829	16,298	24
"	1835	44,152 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	3,767 $\frac{1}{4}$	9,492 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,235	10,632	..
"	1836	38,040	..	6,276	6,766	3,018	10,992	..
"	1837	66,892 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	7,273	9,589	3,206	10,195	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
"	1838	84,996 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	10,303	9,259	4,373	22,166	36
"	1839	85,279 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	10,051 $\frac{1}{2}$	23,936 $\frac{1}{4}$	5,093	26,701	150 $\frac{1}{2}$
"	1840	93,560 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	6,053	21,695	8,205	29,656	24
"	1841	91,494 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	9,480	21,029 $\frac{1}{4}$	3,891	30,550	44
"	1842	76,849	..	7,038 $\frac{1}{2}$	13,283 $\frac{3}{4}$	2,164	25,293	..
"	1843	77,207 $\frac{1}{4}$	..	6,431	10,030 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,342	23,737	70
"	1844	92,813 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	5,123	20,810 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,226 $\frac{1}{2}$	35,476	4
Period extending from								
5th April, 1844, to 5th								
January, 1845								
Year ended 5th Jan.,	1846	83,919	..	1,726	17,940 $\frac{1}{4}$	229	28,815	20
"	1847	92,323	..	5,037	14,372	935	29,352	..
"	1848	90,783 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	6,341 $\frac{1}{2}$	12,387	1,492	34,435	15
"	1849	86,624 $\frac{1}{4}$	..	6,247 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,145 $\frac{1}{4}$	955	25,662	..
"	1850	85,463	..	6,810 $\frac{1}{2}$	9,520	1,681	22,608	..
"		98,903	..	6,588	15,556	997	24,154	20

TABLE XVI.—*continued.*

Years.	Total Quantity of Cod, Ling, or Hake Cured.		Total Quantity of Cod, Ling, or Hake Punched or Branded.		Total Quantity of Cod, Ling, or Hake Exported.	
	Cured Dried.		Cured in Pickle.		Cured Dried.	
	<i>Cwts.</i>	<i>Cwts.</i>	<i>Cwts.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>	<i>Cwts.</i>	<i>Barrels.</i>
* Year ended 5th Jan. 1851, (for Scotland and the Isle of Man only) . .	90,658 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	5,032	..	22,304	..
Do. 1852, do., do.	92,083 $\frac{1}{4}$	..	7,019 $\frac{3}{4}$	..	17,141	..
Do. 31st December, 1852, } for do., do.	102,976 $\frac{1}{4}$	..	6,886	..	18,994 $\frac{1}{2}$	..
Do. 1853, for do., do. . . .	105,596	..	5,122 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	22,650	14

Note.—The Total Quantity of Cod, Ling, or Hake *Cured* cannot be specified before the Year 1826. The Bounty, from the commencement of this Statement to the 5th of April, 1830, was 4s. per cwt. for Fish Cured Dried, and 2s. 6d. per Barrel for Fish Cured in Pickle, taken by the Crews of Vessels or Boats *not* on the Tonnage Bounty; while the Bounty for Vessels licensed for the Cod and Ling Fishery, on the *Tonnage* Bounty, was 50s. per Ton, for Tonnage and Cargo to the 5th of July, 1826; 45s. from thence to the 5th of July, 1827; 40s. to the 5th of July, 1828; and 35s. to the 5th of April, 1830, when the Bounties ceased altogether, and have not since been renewed.

* The Branding and Punching of Cod and Ling was discontinued at the 5th of January, 1850, as well as the Collection of Returns for England.

TABLE XVII.

EDUCATION.

COMPARATIVE VIEW of the NUMBER of DAY SCHOOLS and SUNDAY SCHOOLS, with the SCHOLARS attending them, in *England and Wales*, in the Years 1818, 1833, and 1851, together with the POPULATION and PROPORTION of SCHOLARS thereto in each of those Years.

DAY SCHOOLS.					
No. of Schools.			No. of Scholars.		
1818.	1833.	1851.	1818.	1833.	1851.
19,230	38,971	46,042	674,833	1,276,947	2,144,378

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.					
No. of Schools.			No. of Scholars.		
1818.	1833.	1851.	1818.	1833.	1851.
5,463	16,828	23,514	477,225	1,548,890	2,407,642

POPULATION.		
1818.	1833.	1851.
Estimated. 11,642,683	Estimated. 14,386,415	17,927,609

TABLE XVII.—*continued.*

PROPORTION OF SCHOLARS TO POPULATION.					
Day Scholars.			Sunday Scholars.		
1818.	1833.	1851.	1818.	1833.	1851.
One in 17·25	One in 11·27	One in 8·36	One in 24·40	One in 9·28	One in 7·45

STATEMENT of the NUMBER of *Existing* SCHOOLS, in
England and Wales, Established at each Period.

Date of Establishment.	No. of Schools.		
	Total.	Private.	Public.
Before 1801 . . .	3,363	2,876	487
1801—1811 .	1,042	599	443
1811—1821 .	2,207	1,120	1,087
1821—1831 .	3,482	1,265	2,217
1831—1841 .	7,467	3,035	4,432
1841—1851 .	22,214	5,454	16,760
Date not specified .	6,267	1,169	5,098
Total . . .	46,042	15,518	30,524

TABLE XVIII.

NUMBER of EMIGRANTS from the UNITED KINGDOM
to various DESTINATIONS.

Years.	To the North American Colonies.	To the United States.	To the Australian Colonies and New Zealand.	To other Places.	Total.
1800 to 1819	} Cannot be specified.				
1820	17,921	..	1,063	..	18,984
1821	12,470	..	724	..	13,194
1822	11,282	..	1,067	..	12,349
1823	8,133	..	727	..	8,860
1824	7,311	..	899	..	8,210
1825	8,741	5,551	485	114	14,891
1826	12,818	7,063	903	116	20,900
1827	12,648	14,526	715	114	28,003
1828	12,084	12,817	1,056	135	26,092
1829	13,307	15,678	2,016	197	31,198
1830	30,574	24,887	1,242	204	56,907
1831	58,067	23,418	1,561	114	83,160
1832	66,339	32,872	3,733	196	103,140
1833	28,808	29,109	4,093	517	62,527
1834	40,060	33,074	2,800	288	76,222
1835	15,573	26,720	1,860	325	44,478
1836	34,226	37,774	3,124	293	75,417

TABLE XVIII.—*continued.*

Years.	To the North American Colonies.	To the United States.	To the Australian Colonies and New Zealand.	To other Places.	Total.
1837	29,884	36,770	5,054	326	72,034
1838	4,577	14,332	14,021	292	33,222
1839	12,658	33,536	15,786	227	62,207
1840	32,293	40,642	15,850	1,958	90,743
1841	38,164	45,017	32,625	2,786	118,592
1842	54,123	63,852	8,534	1,835	128,344
1843	23,518	28,335	3,478	1,881	57,212
1844	22,924	43,660	2,229	1,873	70,686
1845	31,803	58,538	830	2,330	93,501
1846	43,439	82,239	2,347	1,826	129,851
1847	109,680	142,154	4,949	1,487	258,270
1848	31,065	188,233	23,904	4,887	248,089
1849	41,367	219,450	32,191	6,490	299,498
1850	32,961	223,078	16,037	8,773	280,849
1851	42,605	267,357	21,532	4,472	335,966
1852	32,873	244,261	87,881	3,749	368,764
1853	34,249	228,152	63,460	2,946	328,807

TABLE XIX.

STATEMENT of the NUMBER of PAUPERS (exclusive of Vagrants) in RECEIPT of RELIEF in the several Unions and Parishes under Boards of Guardians in ENGLAND and WALES, on the 1st of January in each Year.

Year [1st Jan.]	Number of Unions and Parishes.	Adult Able-bodied.			All other Paupers.			Total.			Years.
		In-door.	Out-door.	Total.	In-door.	Out-door.	Total.	In-door.	Out-door.	Total.	
1849	590	28,123	173,521	201,644	91,252	641,523	732,775	119,375	815,044	934,419	1849
1850	606	26,151	155,008	151,159	92,408	646,976	739,384	118,559	801,984	920,543	1850
1851		23,322	131,203	154,525	87,243	619,125	706,368	110,565	750,328	860,893	1851
1852	608	19,752	117,563	137,318	86,661	610,445	697,106	106,413	728,011	834,424	1852
1853		18,138	108,082	126,220	86,048	586,554	672,602	104,186	694,636	798,822	1853
1854	618	21,964	114,085	136,049	91,573	590,693	682,266	113,537	704,778	818,315	1854

Note.—The Year 1849 is the first year for which the actual number of persons receiving relief on a given day can be returned.
The Population of these Unions and Parishes is, according to the last Census, 16,250,861, being 1,676,748 short of the total population of England and Wales.

TABLE XX.

STATEMENT of the NUMBER of PAUPERS in RECEIPT of RELIEF in Unions in IRELAND at the close of the First Week of January in each Year.

1st Week of January.	Adult Able-bodied.		All other Paupers.		Total.		1st Week of January.
	In-door.		In-door.		In-door.	Total.	
1849	74,534		122,858		197,392	423,355	1849
1850	72,617		130,703		203,320	104,650	1850
1851	71,936		134,532		206,468	2,719	1851
1852	53,817		114,431		168,248	3,170	1852
1853	43,939		94,825		138,764	3,058	1853
1854	30,463		74,141		104,604	2,198	1854

Note.—Able-bodied cannot be distinguished from other Out-door Paupers in Ireland.

TABLE XXI.
RAILWAYS.

SUMMARY of the PASSENGER and GOODS TRAFFIC on the RAILWAYS in the UNITED KINGDOM of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND during each of the Five Years ended 30th June, 1848-9-50-51-52, and the LENGTH of RAILWAYS open in 1853.

Years.	Length of Railways open		PASSENGERS.					
	At com- mence- ment of each year.	At termi- nation of each year.	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.	Parliamentary Class.	Mixed.	Total.
			Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.
Year ending—								
30th June 1848....	3,508	4,433	7,190,779	21,690,509½	15,241,529½	13,092,489	749,763½	57,965,070½
“ 1849....	4,433	5,447	7,078,690	23,392,450	14,378,376½	15,432,457½	116,185	60,398,159
“ 1850....	5,447	6,308	7,734,728½	24,226,668½	15,547,749	19,249,974	81,055	66,840,175
“ 1851....	6,308	6,698	9,175,781½	28,983,044½	16,990,073½	23,820,723½	..	78,969,623
“ 1852....	6,698	7,076	10,143,442½	30,967,913	15,642,137½	29,973,553	*31,951½	86,758,997½
“ 1853....	7,076	7,512	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Season ticket holders.

TABLE XXI.—*continued.*

RECEIPTS FROM PASSENGERS.																		
Years.	1st Class.			2nd Class.			3rd Class.			Parliamentary Class.		Mixed.		Total Receipts from Passengers.				
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			
Year ending—																		
30th June, 1848.....	1,792,533	3	8	2,352,152	11	5½	661,038	7	5½	902,851	1	8½	11,807	4	10	5,720,382	9	1½
” 1849....	1,889,645	17	6½	2,502,587	15	11½	651,365	18	10	1,059,785	10	7½	2,590	4	8	6,105,975	7	9½
” 1850....	1,969,246	16	2½	2,594,817	9	9	688,406	16	1½	1,211,633	17	8	1,470	11	11½	6,465,575	11	9
” 1851....	2,212,798	13	1	2,847,468	11	5	714,479	19	11	1,402,593	6	4½	..	..	..	7,177,340	10	2½
” 1852....	2,389,972	5	8	3,010,921	7	1½	662,230	8	10½	1,809,164	11	9	*101,056	1	1½	{ 7,973,344	14	7
” 1853....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	+11,307	15	8½

* From season ticket holders.

† Excess fares, &c.

Years.	Receipts from Goods, Cattle, Parcels, Mails, &c.			Total Receipts.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Year ending—						
30th June, 1848.....	4,213,169	14	5½	9,933,552	3	7½
" " 1849.....	5,094,925	18	11	11,200,901	6	6½
" " 1850.....	5,942,276	18	8½	12,407,852	10	5½
" " 1851.....	6,719,559	5	0½	13,896,899	15	10½
" " 1852.....	7,464,159	10	5½	15,448,812	0	9½
" " 1853.....	...	...	...	...	...	...

TABLE XXII.

STATEMENT showing the Number and Description of Persons Killed or Injured on all the Railways open for Public Traffic in the United Kingdom, during the Years 1851, 1852, and the Half-year ending 30th June, 1853.

Description of Persons.	Year ending 31st Dec. 1851.		Year ending 31st Dec. 1852.		Half year ending 30th June, 1853.	
	Killed.	Injured.	Killed.	Injured.	Killed.	Injured.
Passengers killed or injured from causes beyond their own control .	19	355	10	372	10	114
Passengers killed or injured owing to their own misconduct or want of caution	17	20	22	8	14	7
Total number of passengers killed or injured	36	375	32	380	24	121
Servants of companies or of contractors killed or injured from causes beyond their own control	64	27	57	65	39	43
Servants of companies or of contractors killed or injured owing to their own misconduct or want of caution	53	21	63	24	44	20
Trespassers and other persons, neither passengers nor servants of companies or of contractors, killed or injured while crossing or walking on the railway	61	14	64	17	40	7
Suicide	4	..	..	..	1	..
Total	218	437	216	486	148	191

APPENDIX.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

AND ITS PRACTICAL BEARINGS.

(AN HISTORICAL SURVEY.)



OF all the modern sciences, Political Economy is the only one, the rise, progress, and full development of which, fall within the narrow space of a single century. Traces of the system, it is true, may be found in all ages and in all countries, wherever state and government had assumed the character of a consolidated power: but it was a system of scattered phases, of loose and unconnected parts, bearing hardly any relation to the vital question of national welfare at large. Among the ancient nations we do not discover any fixed principle, still less any established theory in the science, though some of their sages, and especially among the Greeks, have furnished us with some important suggestions on money, capital, division of labour, &c. The contempt in which material labour was then held in private economy fully corresponded with the ancient views in national economy, which were shared even by those eminent men who had devoted the whole of their lives to politics. Again, in the Christian and Germanic Middle Ages, however differ-

ent the march of intellectual development and the fundamental laws of state and government may have been from those in the classical and barbarous ages, yet in political or national economy we can perceive no material difference from the views entertained by the ancient Greeks ; indeed, the feudal laws of the Middle Ages afford even less scope for economical investigation than the pagan or barbarous laws of classical antiquity.

The great revolution that has taken place during the first periods of our modern times, in the fundamental principles of state and government, naturally led to a change in the views on economical matters. Life itself, physical existence, and material labour, became subjects of investigation to the first theorists in Political Economy. The introduction and growing number of the standing armies, the long protracted wars, the extravagant and expensive habits of the despotic courts, &c., had resulted in an increased demand for ready coin, while the quantities of precious metal brought from the new world had wrought a perfect revolution in the forms and means of intercourse, or in the medium of exchange as prevalent in the Middle Ages. The growing opulence of the towns by commerce, the way and means by which the precious metal was procured in exchange from the Spaniards, and the custom, that almost every family in the agricultural districts was to raise provisions in only small quantities, just sufficient to maintain its own members, were in themselves distinct and practical outlines for a better and more developed theory in Political Economy. The uniform

character which all social relations bore at that time in the various states of Europe, and the sameness of end and object pursued by the despotic monarchs of those periods, tended greatly to facilitate the establishment of a series of consecutive principles in some countries, by which a tolerably well digested theory was created in the science. Here and there we find writers treating the same economical subjects in an analogous manner, and on similar principles, and by these means a sort of fixed laws of routine were introduced, which to a certain extent deserved the name of *system*. It was called the *mercantile* system, or unjustly, *Colbertism*. The principal doctrines of that system were :

1st. The wealth of a country is measured by the quantity of the precious metal in her possession ;

2ndly. Countries possessing no mines of gold or silver, ought to procure the precious metal chiefly by means of exchange for manufactures ; and

3rdly. The larger the quantity of gold and silver which a country receives from abroad in exchange for her manufactures, the more favourable is the balance of trade for that country.

Measures were accordingly adopted to give practical effect to those doctrines. They consisted in the prohibition to import manufactures on the one hand, and to export bullion and raw materials on the other, while foreign trade and home manufactures were greatly encouraged by privileges, monopolies, premiums, and even advances in money on the part of governments.

To the first eminent writers and advocates of the *mercantile system* belong, in Italy—Belloni, Genovesi, and Broggia; in England—Thomas Man, Josiah Child, James Stewart, and Mortimer; in France—J. F. Melon, and Forbonnais; in Germany—Klockins, Becher, W. von Schröder, von Justi, Sonnenfels, and Büsch.

The mercantile system, which apparently favours commercial wealth in preference to agricultural, soon found an opposition in the *physiocratic system* founded by Quesnay (the physician in ordinary of Louis XV). According to that system, the soil and its produce are alone to be considered as the source of national wealth, and agricultural pursuits as the only means to increase that wealth. National income must therefore be sought chiefly in the produce of the soil, since by the assistance of nature an excess of supply may be obtained over the demand of consumption, which excess forms the principal item in the revenue of a nation. Those who are occupied in agriculture constitute the *productive classes* in society, in contradistinction to all others, who may be designated as *sterile*, since they contribute little or nothing to the increase of national wealth, their operations being more apt to change the existing forms of social intercourse than to produce new things for society.

The advocates of the physiocratic system therefore insist on the adoption of measures best adapted for the encouragement of agriculture, on the abolition of all such taxes and burdens as might prove a check on the progress of agriculture, on the equal division of the soil,

and on free competition in trade and industry; "*laissez faire et laissez passer*," being the watchword for home and foreign trade by the advocates of this system.

As regards the *state revenue*, however, they admit that direct taxation on the land is the only justifiable means of levying supplies, since every other kind of public burden is after all but an indirect way of taxing land or agriculture.

The physiocratic system was founded and developed chiefly by the following writers:—In France by Quesnay, de Gournay, Mirabeau, M. de la Liviere, and Turgot; in Italy by Bandini, Filangiere, Paoletti, and partly also by Beccaria (in his "Economical Lexicon," Milan, 1769); in England by Lewis Roberts, Dudley North, and John Locke; in Germany by Schlettwein, Springer, Leopold Krug, Manvillon, Jung-Stilling, and Schmalz.

In a scientific point of view, the physiocrats occupy a far superior position to the mercantilists. They not only exposed the fallacies of the latter, but in their investigation into the sources of public or national wealth they cleared up the fundamental principles of Political Economy, and at all events settled for ever the question about the productive powers of the soil. They successfully opened the campaign against the obsolete forms of the Middle Ages in trade, economy, and industry, and paved the way for the dogmas of Free Trade and Competition; they defined the real nature of money, and gave the first impulse to the analysis of distribution of property. But though the system has brought to light

a series of truths which are acknowledged even to this day, the basis upon which it is built, the maxim that "no labour is productive or of any value, if it be not applied to the land and soil," is in itself false and erroneous, as will be seen in the sequel.

There can be no doubt that the arguments and doctrines of the physiocrats exercised great influence on Adam Smith, the founder of the real science of Political Economy. The new doctrine induced him in 1765 to repair to Paris for the purpose of hearing the lectures of Quesnay, to whom he subsequently dedicated his own celebrated work. The investigations of Adam Smith have the merit of forming the ground-work for subsequent researches in Economy. Smith explains that money and agricultural produce represent but a portion of national property, such property, as he argues, consisting in the collective means of satisfying the necessities of a nation, in the resources of labour no less than in the improvements of the soil. National property, he contends, has, besides its useful employment, an exchangeable value also, the result of human labour, which invests things originally in themselves of no use, with a certain value on account of the available usefulness into which they have been converted. The wealth of a nation consists in the sum total of the exchangeable values which they possess or produce, labour being the primary source of that wealth. Human labour regulates and increases the productive power of the soil, and gives birth to gain in commerce and the production of manu-

factures. Labour in whatever shape, whether applied to agriculture, industry, or commerce, is productive, and moreover the only vehicle to supply the people with necessaries. The *natural* price or value of commodities is determined by the amount of labour applied to their production, while the *market* price or value is dependent on accidental circumstances, and more especially on the relation between demand and supply. Barter is nothing else but the interchange of the quantities of labour contained in the respective goods. Price, properly speaking, is the proportion between two values of exchange expressed by *money*, *i.e.*, by a certain rate agreed upon by two parties (the seller and the buyer) in the medium of exchange. Ever since landed property has been introduced, the natural price of commodities exists no longer in wages or the reward of labour alone, but in three different factors. There are three shareholders who participate in the price: the agriculturist, the capitalist, and the labourer. The proportion between the three shares, *rent*, *interest*, and *wages*, depends on and varies with circumstances. Adam Smith establishes laws by which that proportion is determined. *Wages* depend partly on the price of provisions or necessaries of life, and partly on the relation between supply and demand (supply by the labourer, and demand by the capitalist), a relation on which also the extent of gain of capital or money interest depends. Wages and money interest stand in an inverse ratio to each other, as also to the extent at which capital and labour stand in need of each other. The

more a country abounds in capital, the higher will be the rate of wages, and the less the interest on money. *Rent*, finally, is determined by the price and quantity of the produce of the soil.

The whole amount of the annual income of a nation is thus redistributed amongst the three productive classes—labourers, landowners, and capitalists—in the proportion and at the rate at which they have respectively participated in the production of the commodities. The signs of national prosperity are a low rate of *interest*, and *high* rate of *rent* and *wages*. The rate of interest always *decreases* with the increase of commodities, or capital. The accumulation of capital or commodities may arise either from a decrease in the unproductive portion of the population, so that home consumption is diminished, or from improvements wrought in the various branches of industry. The latter is most effectually accomplished by a thorough system of division of labour, which, though capable of vast extension, is nevertheless limited by the degree of demand in the market. The grand feature of Adam Smith's work is his investigation into the principles of division of labour, the surprising results of which he observed in real life; to this class naturally belongs, also, the simplification of labour by machinery, which enables one single individual to perform the work of many. Almost every theory established by Adam Smith is founded upon experience and practical observation, and no wonder that every page in his work treats of the relations of real and practical life. His expositions of the circulating

medium, of banking and credit institutions, his arguments on taxation and public revenue, are not less practical discussions than scientific researches of a high order into the principles of Free Trade and unrestricted competition. The result of Free Trade, he contends, is to level the market price to the standard of the natural price of commodities, that is, to level the market price to the lowest figure of cheapness ; and, though selfish motives are the only stimulus of private undertakings or industry, he is nevertheless of opinion that free competition is the best and shortest way to secure the general welfare of a nation. Adam Smith does not, however, advocate absolute and unrestricted Free Trade in all cases ; on the contrary, he points out a few instances (such as the Navigation Laws) where restrictions and retaliatory measures are not only justifiable, but even necessary.

The "Wealth of Nations" excited great attention on its first appearance in this country, and formed, for a long time after, a compendium for all lectures and discussions on subjects connected with Political Economy. A contemporary opponent to Smith's doctrines, a Mr. Powell (in his letter to Adam Smith, London, 1776), had much difficulty in obtaining a hearing from the public, as did also Gray, Lauderdale, and Jeremiah Joyce. But with the extension of the relations in practical life, new elements were called into action, which Adam Smith had entirely omitted. The concentration of capital had kept equal pace with the progress of division of labour and invention of machinery ; and it thus happened that while private

wealth rapidly increased, a vast number of unemployed labourers had become a burden to their parishes and charitable institutions. A new question then arose as to the means of reconciling the two conflicting facts—*increasing wealth* with *increasing poverty*. Robert Malthus then advanced, in his “Essay on Population” (London, 1806), a series of remarkable inquiries concerning the causes of the above phenomena, and found that political institutions had nothing to do with the distress of the labouring classes, which is rather the result of a law of Nature. He showed that the power of unlimited production, so manifest in Nature, prevails also, and with double force, in the human race; that the human race multiplies in a geometrical progression, while the necessities of life increase only in an arithmetical. He considers, therefore, over-population to be the sole cause of public distress, an evil which Nature herself endeavours to remedy by removing the excess of population by means of famine, pestilence, and other destructive agencies. Poor-laws and charitable institutions, according to him, are not only unavailable and unprofitable instruments for arresting the evil, but are actually set up in defiance of the *destructive* principles of *benevolent* Nature, to the sheer encouragement of poor and careless parents to beget children.

This particular branch of Political Economy has certainly been overlooked by Adam Smith. The doctrines of Malthus attained a certain extent of popularity in a period of war and commotion, when want of charity as-

sumed the gloss of a law of Nature, and justified the country and legislature, on scientific grounds, in relaxing in measures of charity and assistance, and no one stopped to inquire what proof could be adduced from practical life in support of Malthus' premises of the geometrical and arithmetical progressions of the two exponents—food and population. Even the instances he cited from North America are not borne out by actual facts, and could, even if true, only be accepted as exceptional.

Nearly all the valuable works on Political Economy in this country owe their origin to practical questions of the day or to the emergencies of the times. No wonder that their influence extends even to the debates and enactments of Parliament. To the critical condition of the Bank of England under Pitt, at the close of the last century, we owe several important works and treatises on all relations connected with money, currency, banking systems, and even the National Debt, though significant suggestions on these points had already previously been thrown out by Adam Smith. Among the more noted writers on these subjects are Thornton, Cobbett, Ricardo, Mill, Senior, and M'Culloch. The agitation against the Corn Laws, also, gradually settled itself into a fixed theory on Free Trade and competition generally. Adam Smith advocated Free Trade only conditionally, while Ricardo and his school have furthered the theory to an unlimited extent, and it was legislated upon by Huskisson and Peel.

The *mercantile* system never attained any degree of popularity in France, though it originated in that country ;

the development of that theory being greatly checked there by the new opinions of the physiocrats, which the French people cherished with revolutionary enthusiasm, despite its admitted inaptness for practical life. The "Wealth of Nations" also created great sensation in France. It was translated in 1790 by Roucher (with critical notes by Condorcet), and already, in 1809, another translation appeared (with critical notes by Garnier). The work of Canard ("Principes d'économie politique," Paris, 1801) is an echo of Adam Smith's opinions, while the first edition of Say's (*Traité d'économie politique*, &c.) is a full acknowledgment of Smith's theories. In the fifth edition of his work (Paris, 1822), Say professes to elucidate some new points on the principles of distribution of social wealth, but without much success. Say and his school have, upon the whole, greatly overrated their own merits and scientific position as opposed to Adam Smith, though it cannot be denied that to Say the science of Political Economy owes much of its present development; neither are the critical notes appended by him to the new translation of Ricardo by Constancio and Fontegrand (Paris, 1847), more calculated to raise his position even in front of Ricardo. Say, in the true style and taste of his countrymen, talks a great deal of the necessity of seeing all members of society happy, content, and comfortable, though he adopts the doctrines of Malthus in their fullest rigour, and declares them to be founded on the soundest and most indubitable facts and arguments. In all questions relat-

ing to the conflicting interests between labour and capital, his opinion is invariably too much in favour of the latter classes. His great popularity he owes chiefly to his clear and demonstrative diction, as also to the facility with which he brings a confused mass of scientific notions into order and method. The subject of *labour*, on which Adam Smith so greatly enlarges, is reduced by Say to a much narrower compass; he assigns to wealth the three comprehensive sources of labour—agriculture, industry, and commerce—whose main instruments of production are the soil and capital. In the later editions of his work, Say justly finds fault with Adam Smith for not enumerating also, among the component parts of national wealth, the *moral* values of natural talent and acquired skill, though his arguments on the subject are but of little worth. He curiously enough deduces the productiveness of mental labour, from the fact that it is remunerated with exchangeable value of a material description. He takes much credit to himself for having fixed and defined the real boundaries of Political Economy, in excluding from its sphere all investigations on politics, government, and statistics. But all his positive arguments on these points contribute but little to the confirmation of his views, while his notions on statistics are even below criticism. He entirely shuts out *man* from his Economy, and regards Politics and Political Economy as two distinct departments, having no connection with each other; he looks—and no wonder that he looks—for instance, upon the clerical class as mere useless drones in

the social hive. Say continually proclaims to Governments his maxim of "*laissez faire, laissez passer*," as a panacea for all public and private evils. This is the favourite theme on which he touches in every discussion, showing that the various interests of nations are not arrayed against each other in hostile opposition; that a loss incurred by one nation does not tend to benefit another, because, in an economical point of view, trade and intercourse are a concern in which all nations participate alike as partners. Money, with him, is but the representative of products; no country can supply more than it produces, and if selling is prohibited a stop is put on buying. The doctrines of the balance of trade he considers erroneous, because in commercial intercourse the advantages are mutual; and since *buying* is the consequence of *selling*, the losses sustained by one nation through bad crops, scarcity, &c., must necessarily recoil on the other nations who, in receiving less supply from that country where scarcity prevails, have also less to give in exchange for their own productions.

The *socialist* writers of France are against the principles of free competition, or the maxim of *laissez faire* and *laissez aller*; nor do they concur in the assumption that distribution of profit will equalise itself in the natural course of things. Between the two extremes a new phalanx of writers has formed itself, whose standing-point is the assumption that free competition is the principal cause of public distress; that a great number of individuals do not receive their due

share in the national income, as at present distributed. Lemontey drew attention (in his "*Raison et Folie*," Paris, 1804) to the fact that the increase of the division of labour tends to diminish the mental faculties of the labouring classes, and to weaken, moreover, the aggregate of their physical powers by the undue and overstraining development of some few muscles only. The individual labourer, he further asserts, becomes also wholly dependent thereby on his master or employer, who pays him for the use of a few of his muscles, paralysing all the other limbs of the body, which might otherwise be likewise exerted for use and labour. Free competition, he continues, also tends to frustrate all exertions on the part of smaller capitalists, by concentrating into the hands of larger capitalists every profitable undertaking and speculation. Economy based upon such egotism renders money the standard measure for everything, cripples the middle class in society, and with it all the modern advantages connected with its existence. The extent of labour ought always to be in proportion to the quantity of production. An excess of the latter depreciates labour, while a defective supply discourages it; and since division of labour usually results in an increase of production and decrease of labour, the due proportion between the two elements is thereby destroyed.

Sismondi, in the first edition of his work ("*De la Richesses Commerciale*," &c.), seems to concur in the principal views of Adam Smith, while in the later edi-

tions he adds the observation, that since material wealth is so closely connected with public welfare at large, and since public welfare cannot be attained by the selfish and arbitrary operation of the individual, a certain control ought to be conceded to Government to render the distribution of property more in harmony with the general welfare of a nation. In his still later writings, however, he manifests a decided bias towards *Socialism*. The increased supply of production he considers only beneficial, and to be regarded as real property, when it gives rise to a corresponding consumption. Economy in the means of production he also considers an improvement, only when it does not tend to diminish the income of each and all who are occupied with the production. In the modern system of vast and almost over-production he sees advantages only accruing to the industrial capitalists or large manufacturers, to the injury of the working-classes—*white negroes*, as he calls them—whose misery, especially in England, Sismondi describes in glowing, perhaps exaggerated language. He also enlarges on the abuses of the paper currency, on the perils of credit bills, on the baneful influence of free competition and machinery, and, in short, on the dark side of modern inventions in all industry.

Also Joseph Droy, Le Comte Dunoyer, Blanqui, Chevalier, Rambol, and other French Economists, have found it necessary to take into serious consideration the principle of the distribution of social wealth. They have devoted particular chapters in their works to the condition of the

labouring classes, and the connection between increasing wealth and the moral improvement of the people, while, on the other hand, they have attempted to prove that the cause of the present sufferings of the poorer classes is not to be sought exclusively in the great development of the industrial system; that some of the evils complained of, are either individual and isolated instances, or unavoidable consequences of our social condition; and that, to appeal to the State for the removal of such evils, is to misapprehend the real sphere of operation allotted to the State.

This fraction of French writers, however, the deeper they have gone into the subject, the more do they begin to perceive that the favourite theories of the ultra-Socialists require much pruning and reform before they can be put into sober practice; since, however different may be the views of the various schools of Socialism on certain special doctrines, they all agree in the general radical principle, that an organised community and their head, under whatever name or form they may appear, are in possession of a sovereign power to control even individual liberty and free action among the various members, for the benefit of society at large. These fundamental views, as also certain doctrines on commerce, money, capital, interest, &c., form an uninterrupted chain of discussions in the French literature of Economy, from St. Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, and Cabets, down to the writers of the present moment. The February revolution has given a new stimulus to the ques-

tion about the claims of the working classes ; indeed, the fundamental principles of Adam Smith, for the realisation of general welfare, have gradually gained more ground in France, and paved the way to a general conviction that the question of economical production, by individuals as well as by whole nations, can as little as any other question on human and civil operations be separated from that of the moral ends of man and society at large.

Proudhon, though he was for a long time considered as a staunch advocate of *Communism*, appeared at last an opponent to the positive doctrines of the Socialist writers, and not less to the school of Adam Smith, to whose theories he imputes the present distress of the working classes. Proudhon professes to occupy a medium position between Socialism, which taxes the rich to the advantage of the poor, and Political Economy, which taxes the poor to the advantage of the rich, while in fact his own system is of an absolute and merely negative character. He tries to demolish all other systems, without establishing any positive theories of his own. Proudhon found a successful opponent in Bastiat, especially on the question of rent and capital.

Italy may unquestionably be considered the cradle of Political Economy. Custodi has published (Milan, 1804) a collection of all the economical works of his country, from 1582 to 1803, while Count Pechio has added to it a supplement of the works from 1804 to 1832. It is almost surprising to see the isolated position occu-

piet by the Italian Economists, on whose minds the French and English schools seem to have exercised no influence whatever. The reason of this phenomenon lies, no doubt, in the character of the people, and the political position of the country. The national spirit of Italy has always stood in violent opposition to the absolute dominion of the foreign princes who ruled over that unhappy country. The economical literature of Italy has been, therefore, continually directed towards an indirect exposure and criticism of the Government's measures. Hence the peculiar character of the Italian works on Political Economy, which bear rather the stamp of essays on some particular or incidental question of the day, than theories on the fundamental principles of the science generally; and Ganith is therefore not wrong when he says, in his quaint style, that "Italy has ever been famous for having the *worst* money and the *best* works on it;" hence, also, the phenomenon that Italy's best writers on Economy have always lived in those provinces which were worst governed; neither does it less explain the cosmopolitan character so manifest in the Italian writings on political subjects. Not imbued with any love or predilection for their native institutions as established by the foreign rulers of their country, the Italian writers care but little for them in particular; they treat Political Economy on purely social or cosmopolitan principles, for the benefit of the human race at large. Civil and political liberty is so closely connected with economical truths, that it forms the

standing-point of all their views on economical theories. *National wealth* is with the Italian writers but of secondary importance, and they have therefore contributed but little towards the development of the system generally, though it must be admitted that they have furnished us with some admirable essays on special subjects.

In Germany, the powerful influence of Adam Smith was unmistakeable. Before the appearance of the "Wealth of Nations," the want of systematic doctrines was there supplied by aphoristic principles and practical routine, while her Economists strictly adhered either to the mercantile or physiocratic system in the literal sense and terms, as taught abroad. No sooner, however, had the inquiries about the nature and causes of national wealth become known in Germany, than they were almost unanimously approved of and accepted by her Economists. But though the number of implicit adherents to those doctrines of Adam Smith is still very great there, the English school, generally speaking, has roused a spirit of original investigation in that country. The German mind is cool, collected, and impartial; it is not biassed by general admiration or the gloss of novelty; the German searches for truth wherever he is likely to find it, even amidst the obsolete notions and prejudices of the Middle Ages. It thus happened, that the new doctrines of Smith and his school have given rise in Germany to attempts either to reconcile the new theories with the antagonistic principles of the old schools, or to develop original notions in opposition

to either. Among the great changes wrought by the first French Revolution in public opinion, and the forms of State and Government, the most conspicuous and lasting were those produced in the sphere of social life, wealth and property. The effects of the decree of the National Assembly on the night of the 4th of August, 1789, lasted throughout the reign of the Emperor and the Restoration. But it was in reality the doctrines of Adam Smith, which forced their way amidst many and violent impediments, like a volcanic eruption, to the French shores. But the calamities of the Revolution had produced a reaction in the public mind, of which the adherents of the old *régime* were not slow to take advantage. They gradually tried to regain the lost ground under the disguise of new forms and names, or even a spirit of improvement. Neither was that reaction less manifest in the branches of Political Economy, where views and theories were about to be introduced in direct opposition to the spirit of the Revolution and its Propaganda (the doctrines of Adam Smith), and more in harmony with those of the feudal system of the Middle Ages. Adam Müller was the first who published, at the beginning of the present century, a positive criticism on the doctrines of Adam Smith, in which he opposed to them others, based on quite different laws and premises. Much as there is fallacious and even absurd in his own system, Müller nevertheless has the merit of having brought to light many vulnerable points in his opponent. Müller's fundamental views of State and Government

differ materially from those of his predecessors. In direct opposition to those who see in the *State* only the vehicle for promoting individual or private interest, he thinks with the ancients that the individual exists only in connection with the community. Man, he says, exists only as a citizen; and according to his belief the political institutions of the Middle Ages realised the true notion of State, Peace, and Liberty. Müller objects to the modern theories in Economy, and finds fault with Adam Smith for attempting to destroy all moral powers and faculties in the State, by considering only the economy of *things*, by establishing only the theory of *money*, of individual and private property, to the utter exclusion of the existence of a nation as a nation, as an unit by itself, and as a moral link between the various generations. Adam Smith, he exclaims, has regard only for the temporary production of and for individuals, but not for productions to be preserved for future generations; Adam Smith only cares for temporal and material productions, but not for intellectual and still less for rational enjoyments and the refinement of public taste. Neither is his principle of *division of labour* perfectly correct, since he derives it from the natural propensity of man to barter and exchange; while, according to his own (Müller's) views, it arises chiefly from the vast stock of productions of labour and capital accumulated in the preceding generations; nor is *division of labour*, he thinks, a complete doctrine in itself, since it lacks the supplementary part of *union of labour*. Adam Smith is moreover only

acquainted with material capital, but not with the intellectual or rational, which is preserved among all nations by language, and is thereby converted into public property, such as, capital of national wisdom, science, feeling, character, and experience, which descend and increase from generation to generation. Müller also shows that the doctrines of Adam Smith, though they may possess a certain practical value for England, under the special relations and conditions peculiar to that island, are, so far as the Continent is concerned, totally useless and even impracticable. The continent of Europe, he says, stands in need of an economical system, treating of the national character of commodities rather than of their exchangeable value; analysing the true wealth of nations, the productions of national power, rather than the amount of private riches in individual productions; pointing to the uniform development of national supply at the side of national consumption, of national concentration of labour at the side of its division, and of moral capital at the side of material. According to Müller, the economy of a people is founded upon labour, the result of mutual necessities, while national wealth consists of all things and persons that may prove useful in society in some shape or other. The quality or means by which certain persons or things are brought into economical intercourse with other persons or things, he calls *money*, and its rate he denominates *exchangeable value*.

The elements of production are, with Müller—*land*,

labour, physical and intellectual operations. These four elements correspond with the relations of the mediæval States, and their four classes in society—the industrial, the learned, the military, and the commercial. To preserve the harmony of the organic whole, a constant, animated, and reciprocal intercourse must take place between these elements; but in modern times, that harmony has been broken by division of labour, by the supremacy of material capital, which lowers labour to mere mechanical function, splits up land and estates into objects of money speculation, and holds out some future gain and profit, at the expense of national harmony in feelings, and the consequence is, the degeneration of the whole political life of a nation. Müller is decidedly not wrong on many points. Society, so mechanically conglomerated by Adam Smith, is certainly not only an unhistorical phenomenon, but also devoid of all moral ends. Nations are indeed individualised, both historically and geographically, and there dwells in their respective organisms a peculiar spirit of rational power, which gives edge and point to their physical exertions. Material life forms but one part of the whole existence of a nation. It cannot and it ought not to be severed from the highest ends of social and political union, nor realised in an isolated manner. Neither is it less true that, in the same way as the present generation avails itself profitably of the labours of past ages, in like manner will the operations of the present generation benefit our descendants; so that we ought, in all our efforts and exertions, to con-

sider not only the temporary benefit accruing from them, but also and chiefly how far future generations may eventually profit by them. But, on the other hand, Müller is widely mistaken when he speaks of the forms and institutions of the Middle Ages as fit models for an ideal State, and best calculated to improve the condition of society, even in the present age. At no time was union of action and purpose less prevalent than in the Middle Ages, when the various guilds and corporations acted as rivals and even foes towards each other, each having at heart its own interests, in opposition to and even to the injury of all other classes of society. The mediæval forms of social life were only suited for the Middle Ages; indeed, the whole of their moral capital, the whole of their historical traditions and experience, had already survived the spirit and were about to expire altogether, at the very period when Müller fancied he had discovered in them the elements of an ideal State.

Frederick List was a far more formidable, because a more practical, opponent of Adam Smith. The theory of List is replete with practical questions and arguments. He, too, finds fault with Adam Smith for his tendencies to cosmopolitanism, materialism, and individualism. But, in direct opposition to Müller, List insists on the development of industry, the monetary system, and all the other useful inventions of modern times, declaring that the power of the State, and national union, ought to be rendered available for individual interest and happiness;

that the English system in commerce and industry ought to be introduced into all countries of Europe; and that the economical forms of the Middle Ages should be consigned to eternal oblivion.

The starting-point of List is *nationality*—nation as an independent existence, as a peculiar organism, occupying a position between the individual and the human race at large. Progressive civilisation of the whole human race, as also the happiness of the individual, are, according to his opinion, equally dependent on the development of nationality. In all places and at all times, as he teaches, have, on the one hand, the intelligence, morality, and industry of the individual kept pace with the prosperity of the nation, while the wealth of the nation has, on the other hand, increased or decreased with those virtues of the individual; but nowhere have the industry, economy, spirit of invention, and undertaking of the individual, produced anything great and important if they were not properly supported by civil liberty, public institutions, administration of justice, foreign policy, and more especially by national power and union. History also shows, he argues, that the individual draws the greatest part of his productive power from social combinations and institutions. So much, therefore, depends on the development of practical nationality, that it ought necessarily to be preferred to individual interests whenever they come in antagonistic contact. *Division of labour*, in a national point of view, depends on national confederation of the productive

powers, while the wealth of a nation does not consist of the quantity of the productive values of exchange in its possession, but in the manifoldness, variety, and due balance of the productive powers. Adam Smith and his school only treat of the theory of the exchangeable values, while List treats of the theory of the productive powers, on the development of which, he says, everything depends. The economical powers of a series of successive generations must be directed towards the accomplishment of one and the same end, though some momentary loss or sacrifice in the exchangeable values may be the result at some of the intervening periods. In a country abounding in national resources, all the powers of the State, the natural (the soil), the personal (labour), and instrumental (capital), ought to develop, in an equal ratio, agriculture, industry, and commerce. The industrial or manufactural power, however, acts more vigorously than any other upon the progress of civilisation, by promoting more directly and more rapidly the moral, political, and economical prosperity of a nation. The countries of the temperate zone are best calculated, and even called upon by nature, to cultivate and develop the manufactural power, while those of the torrid zone possess a natural monopoly for agricultural produce. Universal trade is therefore, with List, a commercial intercourse, chiefly between the countries of the two zones. In history, List professes to find that the nations of the temperate zone, who are endowed by nature with all the elements requisite for attaining the highest end of civilisation, had

progressed from the primitive state of a pastoral life, or barbarity, to that of agriculture; thence again to industry and manufacture, and finally also to commerce. He shows that nations must vary their systems with the stages of their civilisation. Free trade and intercourse with more advanced nations will advance a barbarous nation to the stage of agriculture; at this period it will be advisable for them to introduce a restrictive system in their foreign trade, in order to encourage native industry and home manufactures, fisheries, and external commerce; but having at last arrived at the third and highest stage of commerce, wealth and power, they may gradually retrace their steps to free trade and unrestricted competition, in order to guard the farmer, manufacturer, and merchant against indolence, and stimulate them to persevere in the acquired preponderance. Spain, Portugal, and Naples stand at present on the first stage (agriculture), Germany and North America on the second (industry), England on the third (commerce and power), while France occupies a medium station between the second and third. Germany and North America stand therefore in need of a protective system in trade and navigation, should they ever aspire to advance to the third and final stage. Protective duties, it is true, tend to raise the price of commodities, but the rise is only of a temporary nature; free competition at home will soon level and even lower it far under the rate of the previous periods of free trade, when the natural price of goods brought from abroad had been artificially enhanced by

the cost of freight, charges, commission, &c. Moreover, the loss that may thereby accrue to the exchangeable values, is even more than compensated by the increase of the productive powers resulting from the protective system.

List belongs to those prominent men whom it is impossible to praise without censure, or censure without praise. He lays great stress on the economical history of the nations, and allots to it a considerable space in his great work, simply because he founds upon it the greatest part of his deductions against the theories of his opponents, over whom he certainly stands superior in historical argumentation, though many of his historical results are quite unhistorical. Among these are his details about the special development of certain countries, and economical stages or gradations of material civilisation, which he thinks he has discovered in the history of nations. In the variety of national life we recognise none of those standard stages so distinctly pointed out by List; the nature and degree of development are not the same with all nations, since much depends on circumstances and incidental influences; neither is List more correct in subjecting the collective powers of the state or society to the service of individual purposes, and thus entirely losing sight of the moral tendency of state and government.

This oversight is the more surprising in a man who always lays great weight on nationality as opposed to

individuality, and endeavours on every occasion to link together economical with political life.

In the various writings of this indefatigable man, we are enabled to trace step by step the development of his doctrines. It is beyond all doubt, that his theory of the productive powers, in opposition to that of exchangeable values, owes its origin to his previous views on the necessity of protective duties. But after all, where is the difference between the two theories? Exchangeable values are the result or effect of *productive powers*, and how can they—cause and effect—be separated in a scientific theory? Does not exchangeable value, the effect, become in its turn a new cause for new effects? And, granted that the productive powers have been neglected, does it follow that the exchangeable values ought therefore to be precluded from all consideration? This is, however, not the proper place for minute criticism of his views and doctrines.

To characterise more categorically his system of productive powers as opposed to that of the exchangeable values, List calls his own economy *political*, and that of Adam Smith *cosmopolitical*. Adam Smith has applied his principle of division of labour also to whole nations, and according to his views of international division of labour, every country or nation is called upon to produce labour in some branch of the aggregate department of the labour of the whole world. The effects of that labour may be best exchanged in values by the system of Free

Trade, as nations, like individuals, naturally seek for markets where they may buy cheap and sell dear. Thus every nation, according to Adam Smith, fulfils unconsciously its calling and mission of contributing to the general supply of labour, though in so doing it thinks only to gratify its own interest. List, however, observes that this sort of cosmopolitical division of labour is founded upon the idea of universal and lasting peace among the nations of the world, which, though it may constitute the ultimate end of humanity, is under present circumstances, and will probably remain for a long time to come, a sheer chimera, a Utopian dream. In the present state of the world, and even as a means to promote that ultimate end of humanity, it is necessary to consolidate *national* independence, to equalise as much as possible the civilisation of all the countries in the temperate zone, and to introduce national instead of international or cosmopolitical division of labour; and when that object has been obtained by means of a protective system, Free Trade may then be safely re-introduced without any fear of entailing injury on commerce.

Here, also, List meets a one-sided view with another not less so. Every nation, it is true, has a certain inward calling for industrial production of a general character, while external circumstances may even compel them to act up to that calling; but it is not less true, that every nation possesses a particular skill and refined sense for

some special branch of industry in which it excels and shines superior to all other nations occupied with the same. Thus, were it even possible to educate equally and independently all nations of the temperate zone, there would always be some branches in labour or industry in which certain nations would rise superior to the others; and this superiority, instead of realising universal peace and economy, must, on the contrary, give rise to rivalry and hostile competition in their foreign trade.

With all his faulty notions, however, List has the merit of having, in his discussions about protective duties, shown the untenable ground upon which Adam Smith partly builds his arguments on Free Trade. List proves beyond doubt, that the net income of a nation does not, as Adam Smith fancies, consist solely in the amount of exchangeable values which every individual produces. He likewise proves that the diminution of that net income is not an absolute loss to the nation, and that general welfare is not best promoted by every individual consulting his own selfish interests in the sphere of economy. We must also give him credit for the skill with which he has drawn historical argumentation into the field of discussion, has pointed out politics as an important element in economy, has laid stress on the various stages in civilisation and state relations, and contributed generally, by his mode of reasoning, to the advance of the science, however defective in parts the results of his own system may be.

Though banished from his own country, he cherished the interests of his fatherland even in the coal mines of North America, where he pronounced the prophetic words : "If ever national interests are to be promoted in Germany by means of theories in Political Economy, they (the theories) must descend from the garret studies of the learned, from the rostrums of the professors, and from the cabinets of high state functionaries, into the counting-houses of the manufacturers, merchants, capitalists, and bankers, into the offices of all lawyers and functionaries, as also into the dwellings of the farmer and landholder ; they must, in short, become the public property of all educated classes in society."

Indeed, ever since his time, ever since that great agitator in Economy began his operations, a new branch of literature has sprung up in Germany, established and conducted, not by the professors of the universities (as used to be the case), but by men of practical routine and worldly pursuits, which promises far better results than the abstract essays of professional lecturers.

The besetting sin of nearly all the writers on economical subjects, is their claim to absolute truths. They all profess to lay down rules and principles for the indiscriminate guidance of all countries and for all ages, without regard to national, historical, and geographical peculiarities. The prohibitive system of the mercantilists, the free trade system of the physiocrats, the cosmopolitan theory of division of labour by the school of Adam Smith,

the national division of labour of Frederick List, the mediæval ideal institutions of Adam Müller, and even the organisation plans of the Socialists, have all one fault in common, the presumption of wishing to establish fixed, stationary, and absolute principles incapable of modification. The radical and geographical conditions of nations are in themselves a tacit, but implicit *veto* against any absolutism in economical theories. History also teaches that there are no stationary phases observable in the stages of human development; that the economical occupations of the various nations were of a varied character, and that this variety in occupations proceeded from different views entertained by the different nations on economical subjects, leading to different results, because of the radical conditions of Economy, which rested on different bases with the different nations.

There are theories which, though true in themselves, can only be applied with success to practical life under certain limitations and restrictions; a maxim which when acted upon, might at one time confer blessings on a country, may at another time be fraught with injurious effects. It is equally absurd, for instance, to regard the mediæval forms of social life as sheer nonsense, as a bare and unhappy delusion on the part of the nations of those periods, as to wish, now that all conditions of social life are entirely changed, to re-introduce those forms in our present institutions, and expect improvements and advantages from them. And as with periods and ages, so

with countries and nations; measures that will bring benefits to one country, may on the contrary be fraught with evil to another. All efforts, therefore, to frame systems and theories calculated to profit indiscriminately all ages and all nations must for the present be numbered among the Utopian schemes, the golden dreams of merely philanthropic theorists.

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ERRATUM.

In the running title or heading, as far as page 96, read "*during*," instead of "*under* the present reign."

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